B 2 49
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Εἰκὼν Βασιλ[illegible]

THE POURTRACT[illegible] OF HIS SACRED MAIESTIE[illegible] IN HIS *Solitudes* and *Suffering*[illegible]

With a perfect Copy of Prayers [illegible] by his Majesty in the time of his [illegible]

elivered to Dr. JUXON Bishop of [illegible] immediately before his Death.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Printed in the Yeer 1649.

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liament.
Upon the Earl of Strafford's *death.*
Upon His Majesties going to the House of
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Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for
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this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.
Upon His Majesties retirement from Whi-
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Upon the Queens departure, and absence
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Upon His Majesties repulse at Hull, *and*
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ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

1. *Upon His Majesties calling th[illegible] last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not m[illegible] by others advice, and necessity of [illegible] affairs, then by my own choice and [illegible]clination; who have always thoug[illegible] the right way of Parliaments most safe for [illegible] Crown, and best pleasing to my People: A[illegible] although I was not forgetfull of those spar[illegible] which some mens distempers formerly studi[illegible] to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbear[illegible] to convene for some years, I hoped to [illegible] extinguished) yet resolving with My self [illegible] give all just satisfaction to modest and sob[illegible] desires, and to redress all publick [illegible] Church and State; I hoped (by My [illegible] and their moderation) to prevent all mis[illegible]derstandings and miscarriages in this. In wh[illegible] as I feared, affairs would meet with some pas[illegible]sion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should finde least of them in my self; not

Doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoiz the over-ballancing of any Factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to hear with what partiality and popular heat, Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens well-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms:) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament then My self; who, knowing best the largenesse of my own Heart toward my Peoples good and just contentment, pleased my self most in that good and firm understanding, which would hence grow between me and my people.

All jealousies being laid aside, my own and my Childrens Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my Subjects; The only temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection. I cared not to lessen my self in some things of my wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompence in my Subjects affections.

I intended not only to oblige my friends, but Mine

mine enemies also: exceeding even the [illegible] of those that were factiously discontent[illegible] they did but pretend to any modest [illegible] sense.

The [illegible] and offences which some [illegible] rigor or remissnesse in Church and State [illegible] contracted upon my Government, I resol[illegible] to have expiated by such Laws and regulat[illegible] for the future, as might not only rec[illegible] what was amiss in practice, but supply wh[illegible] was defective in the constitution: No mi[illegible] having a greater zeal to see Religion serv[illegible] and preserved in Truth, Unitie, and Orde[illegible] then my self; whom it most concerns both [illegible] pietie and policie; as knowing, that N[illegible] flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous [illegible] then those which make Religious pretension[illegible] the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform, what I should by fre[illegible] and full advice in Parliament be convinced to [illegible] be amiss; and to grant whatever my Re[illegible] son and Conscience told me was fit to [illegible] desired; I wish I had kept my self wit[illegible] in tho'e bounds, and not [illegible] my own Judgement to have been ove[illegible] in some things, more by others Importu[illegible] their Arguments; my confidence had betr[illegible] trayed my self, and my Kingdoms, in those ad[illegible] vantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to do mischief.

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robbed him of in our prosperitie.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, That Resolutions of future Reforming, doe not always satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have over-laid our hopes: Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Judgments, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee, Then I trust thy mercy will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, Thou giveſt us cause to Repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I doe not repent of my calling the last Parliament, because O Lord, I did it with an upright intention to thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon me and my Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet, through thy mercy, preparatives of us to future blessings and better hearts to enjoy them.

O

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant me and thy People the benefit of our afflictions, and chaſtiſements; that thy Rod as well as thy Staff may comfort us: Then ſhall we dare to accept them the ſtrokes not of an enemy, but a Father, when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience in repentance which becomes thy Children; I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought me and my people unfeignedly to repent of the ſins we have committed.

Thy grace is infinitely better with our ſuffrings, then our Peace could be with our ſins.

O thou ſoveraign goodneſs and wiſdom, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels, over-rule alſo our hearts; That the worſe things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy mercy.

As our ſins have turned our Antidotes into Poiſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our Poiſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy Warre, ſo let this War prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in my Heart, and in thy Heaven which Chriſt hath purchaſed, & promiſed to thy ſervant (though a ſinner) for his ſake. Amen.

Upon the Earl of Straffords *death.*

I looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of State. For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was ſe enough to betray him to great errors, d many enemies; whereof he could not but ntract good store, while moving in so high ſphear, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must ds (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalati-s, which condensed by a popular *odium*, re capable to cast a cloud before the bright-nerit and integrity.

Though I cannot in my judgement approve he did, driven (it may be) by the necessi-s of times, and the Temper of that people, re then led by his own disposition to any ght and rigour of actions: yet I could never convinced of any such criminousness in him willingly to expose his life to the stroke of ice, and malice of his enemies. I never e with a more unhappy conjuncture of af-s, then in the businesse of that unfortunate

Earl:

Earl: when between my own unsatisfied
in Conscience, and a necessity (as some
me) of satisfying the importunities of
people, I was perswaded by those
thinks wished Me well, to chuse rather
was safe, then what seemed just; prefer
the outward peace of My Kingdoms
men, before that inward exactness of
science before God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or
nying that compliance on My part (for
consent it was not) to his destruction, whom
My judgment I thought not, by any clear
guilty of death: That I never bare any
of Conscience with greater regret: which
sign of my repentance, I have often with
row confessed both to God and men, as an
of so sinfull frailty, that it discovered
fear of man, then of God, whose name
place on earth no man is worthy to bear,
will avoid inconveniencies of State, by
so high injustice, as no publick convenience
expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a man's
Conscience, thereby to salve State-sores,
calm the storms of popular discontents, by
ring up a tempest in a mans own bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the
and sad consequences, to shew the world
fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man*

ough unjuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed deſtroyed. For,

In all likelihood I could never have ſuffered, ll My people, greater calamities, (yet with eater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* nocency, at leaſt by denying to Sign that de- ctive *Bill*, according to that Juſtice, which y conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, then I have one ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankful portunities with ſo cruel a favour. And I ve obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled Me ign that Bill, have been ſo far from recei- ng the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with e People, that no men have been haraſſed & ſhed more then they: He onely hath been ſt vexed by them, who counſelled Me, not conſent againſt the vote of My own Conſci- e: I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, ſinful raſhneſs of that buſineſs.

To which being in My ſoul ſo fully conſci- , thoſe Judgements God hath pleaſed to nd upon Me, are ſo much the more welcom, a means (I hope) which his mercy hath ſan- ed ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that ul Act, (for ſo it was to Me) and for the ure to teach Me; That the beſt rule of po- is, to prefer the doing of Juſtice, before enjoyments, and the peace of my Conſci- before the preſervation of My King- ms.

Nor

Nor hath any thing more fortified My re-
lutions againſt all thoſe violent importuni-
which ſince have ſought to gain a like conſe-
from Me, to Acts, wherein my Conſcience
unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have h-
for what paſſed Me, in My Lord of *Straffo-*
buſineſs.

Not that I reſolved to have imployed him i-
My affairs, againſt the adviſe of my Parliament-
but I would not have had any hand in h-
Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſs I was better a-
ſured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the crimes objected againſt hi-
ſo clear, as after a long and fair hearing t-
give convincing ſatisfaction to the Major par-
of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords
of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent
when the bill paſſed that Houſe: And for th-
Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, di-
poſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Straf-*
fords greatneſs and power, yet unſatisfied o-
his guilt in Law, durſt not condemn him t-
die: who for their integrity in their Votes
were by Poſting their Names, expoſed to t-
popular calumny, hatred and fury, which
then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for Juſ-*
tice, (that is, to have both my ſelf and the two
Houſes Vote, and doe as they would have u-
that many ('tis thought) were rather terrifie-
to concur with the condemning party, then

ed that of right they ought so to doe.

And that after-Act vacating the Authority the precedent, for future imitation sufficiently tels the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enimies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves.

This tendernesse and regret I find in my soul, for having any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in shedding one mans bloud unjustly, (though under the colour and formalities of Justice, and pretences of avoiding publick mischiefs) which may (I hope) be some evidence before God and man, to all posterity, that I am far from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappy War; which some men will needs charge on me, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall be, more affraid to take away any mans life unjustly, then to lose my own.

But thou, O God, of thy infinit mercies forgive me that act of sinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me then any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envy, or malice against him, and by my place could, at least so farre, have been a preserver

of

of him, as to have denied my consent to his ... struction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, ... my sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood-guiltiness O God, ... God of my salvation, and my tongue shall ... of thy righteousness.

Against thee have I sinned, and done ... evil in thy sight, for thou sawest the contra... ction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, pu... me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I sh... be clear; wash me with that pretious effusi... and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by th... Iudgements, and to see my frailtie in thy I... stice: while I was perswaded by shedding ... mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou h... for that, among other sins, brought upon m... and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and hea... troubles.

Make me to prefer Iustice, which is thy w... before all contrary clamours, which are but ... discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overco... me, to please them by displeasing thee: O ne... suffer me for any reason of State, to go agai... my Reason of Conscience, Which is highly to ... against thee, the God of Reason, and Iudge ... our Consciences.

W

Whatever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive
of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salva-
, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit;
ch ſubjects my will to non but the light of
ſon, Juſtice, and Religion, which ſhines in
Soul; for thou deſireſt Truth in the inward
ts, and Integritie in the outward expreſſi-

Lord, hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Sa-
urs blood, which ſpeaks better things; O
e me, and my People, to hear the voice of
and Gladneſs, that the bones which thou
broken, may rejoice in thy ſalvation.

Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to
demand Juſtice upon the five Members,
act which my Enemies loaded with all
loquies and exaſperations they could.
filled indifferent men with great jealou-
and fears; yea, and many of my Friends
cured it, as a motion riſing rather from Paſ-
then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch
ſion as the touchineſs of thoſe times re-
ed.

But

But these men knew not the just motive and pregnant grounds, with which I thought myself so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legall Trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made to embroyl my Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced Writings under some mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so; yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick Peace; which to preserve, my calling in question half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knows, was all my design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Me and my Kingdoms right, in case they had been found guilty, or else to have cleared their innocency, and removed my suspicion: which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in reason to be smothered.

What

What flames of discontent this spark (though sought by all speedy and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witnesse: The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their Priviledge, is so false, that, as God best knows, I had no such intent; so none that attended Me could justly gather from any thing I then said or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were my Followers at that time short of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a mutinary conflict. Nor were they more feared at my coming, then I was unassured of not having some affronts cast upon me, if I had none to be with Me to preserve a reverence to it: for many people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against Me, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that businesse was this,

Those men and their adherents were then look'd upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties then myself, and so worthier of their protection. I leave

save them to God and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations, no present impunity, or popular vindications of them will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeal, as being an argument to us Christians of that after unavoidable Judgement, which shall re-judge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions which I foresaw, would in all likelyhood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my design: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance: and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord art my Witnesse in heaven, and in my Heart: If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent: or if there were any such wickednes in my thoughts.

Then

Then let the enemy perſecute my ſoul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Ho-nour in the duſt.

Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but looke-ſt beyond all popular appearances, ſearching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſſe, ſhew thy-ſelf.

Let not my afflictions be eſteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argu-ment of my ſin, in that matter: more then their Impunity among good men is any ſure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherin they have done a-miſs, though they are not puniſhed for it in this world.

Save thy ſervant from the privy conſpiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreaſonable men, according to the uprightneſs of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cauſe, and maintain my right, O thou that ſitteſt in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy ſervant may ever rejoyce in thy ſalva-tion.

4. Upon

4. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no less, that he restrains the madness of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the Vulgar to passe all boundaries of Laws and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportment, both in contemptuous words and actions, to my Self and my Court.

Nor

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking as an ague, but a quotidian fever, alwayes encreaſing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

First, They muſt be a guard againſt thoſe fears which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared, and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to command and over-aw the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candor) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults; By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacie of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences, muſt be ſubdued; by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmatical Propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who-ever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order

rder, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a arliament; but ripped up with barbarous ruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, uch as their Inviters and Encouragers most ancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their trages, that no ſober man could be without infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo to-rated and connived at by ſome; countenan-ed, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any hing he moſt deſired, for the publick good, hen obtain it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligi-us means? But mens paſſions and Gods di-ections ſeldom agree; violent deſignes and otions muſt have ſutable engines: ſuch as too nuch attend their own ends, ſeldom confine hemſelves to Gods means. Force muſt crowd n what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Pa-rons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flat-er and embolden them, to direct and tune heir clamorous importunities, ſome men yet iving are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee. That hoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attain-ing his ends.

But as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo nei-ther for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they

they have Men of ſome reputation for par
and piety to ſet them ou.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt fo
dable, was, that many Complaints bei
made, and Meſſages ſent by my Self, a
ſome of both Houſes; yet no Order for r
dreſs could be obtained with any vigour a
efficacie, proportionable to the maligaity
that now far-ſpread diſeaſe, and predomina
miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they fea
ed no inconvenience; Others petulancie, tha
they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully out
raged and abuſed, while they knew their onely
ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: ſo inſen
ſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes
common Safety and Honours.

Nor could ever any Order be obtained, im
partially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the
known Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries,
who boaſted of the influence they had and
uſed, to convoke thoſe Tumults as their ad
vantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer
Stateſ-men) owned them as friends, commend
ing their Courage, Zeal, and Induſtry; which
to ſober men could ſeem no better then that
of the Divel, who *goes about ſeeking whom he
may* deceive and *devour*.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſs,

that

hat no Declaration from the Bishops, who
were first rouly insolenced and assaulted; nor
et from other Lords and Gentlemen of Ho-
or; nor yet from my self could take place
or the due repression of these Tumults; and
ecuring not only Our freedom in Parliament,
ut Our very persons in the Streets; I thought
My self not bound by my presence to provoke
hem to higher boldness and contempts; I
oped by my with-drawing to give time both
or the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and
thers regaining some degrees of modesty and
ober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillani-
nitie in any man for popular terrors to desert
is publick station. But I think it a hardiness,
eyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself
gainst the breaking in of a Sea; which to re-
st, at present, threatens imminent danger;
ut to withdraw, gives it space to spend its fu-
y, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach.
Certainly a gallant man had rather fight to
reat disadvantages for number and place in
he field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with
n undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditated
war (when I went from *Whitehal* only to re-
eem my Person & Conscience from violence)
God knows I did not think of a war. Nor will
ny prudent man conceive that I would by to
many

many former and ſome after-acts, have much weakned My ſelf, if I had purpoſed engage in a war, which to decline by all mea I denyed my ſelf in ſo many particulars: evident I had then no Army to fly unto, protection or vindication.

Who can blame me, or any other for a wi drawing our ſelves from the daily baitings the Tumults, not knowing whether their fu and diſcontent might not fly ſo high, as worry and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as they but played with in their paws? God, w is my ſole Judg, is my Witneſs in Heaven, t I never had any thoughts of going from houſe at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but a reaſonable fair Quarter; I was reſolved to be much, and did ſo, but I did not think my ſ bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of my pla and Perſon, the ſafety of my Wife and childre to thoſe who are prone to inſult moſt, wh they have objects and opportunity, moſt c pable of their rudeneſs and petulancy.

But this buſineſs of the Tumults (where ſome have given already an account to Go others yet living, know themſelves deſperat guilty) time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſm thered up and buried, that I think it beſt leave it as it is: Only I beleeve the juſt Aveng of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe me and that City, ſee their ſin in the glaſs of the

puniſhmen

punishment. 'Tis more then an even lay, they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election and Constitution, sate full and free, the Members of both Houses being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reason, honor, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no less content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publick Councels, turning all into disorders and lordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England*, (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences, in all likelihood, with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in any place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defe
to thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the ragin
the Sea, and the madneſſe of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in
on Me, and are ready to overwhelm Me.

I look upon My ſinnes and the ſinnes of
people, (which are the tumults of our Souls
gainſt thee O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe
pular inundations which thou permitteſt to ov
bear all the banks of Loyalty, Modeſty, Lo
Juſtice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredſt the waters
one place, and madeſt the dry land to appe
and after didſt aſſwage the flood which dro
ned the world, by the word of thy powe
Rebuke thoſe beaſts of the people, and deliv
Me from the rudeneſſe and ſtrivings of
multitude.

Reſtore, We beſeech thee, unto Us, the freedo
of Our Councels and Parliaments, make Us
paſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon, and
ligion, and with all order and gravity to follo
it as becomes Men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall W
praiſe thy Name, who art the God of order a
counſel.

What man cannot, or will not repreſſe, thy O
nipotent Juſtice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a tim
ly ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſinne, wh
thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſſi
tho

those disorders: Let shame here and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duely executed, to our schismes by Charitie, that we may be, as thy Jerusalem, *a Citie at unity in it self.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time, for Jesus Christs sake. Amen.

C *Upon*

5. *Upon His Majeſties paſſing the* BILL *for the Triennial Parliaments: And after, ſetling this, during the pleaſure of the two Houſes.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in my purpoſes at firſt, to contribute what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour and Conſcience I could, to the happy ſucceſs of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other Deſigne, but the generall good of My Kingdoms) I willingly paſſed the BILL for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might (if well applied) prevent any diſtempers from getting any head or prevailing; eſpecially, if the remedy proved not a remedy beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find work with convenient Receſſes for the firſt three years: But I did not imagine, that ſome men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to do, by undoing ſo much as they found well done to their hands. Such is ſome mens activity, that they will need make work rather then want it; and chuſe to be doing amiſs, rather then do nothing.

Whe

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatisfie ſome mens fears, and compaſs publick Affairs; I was perſwaded to grant that BILL of ſitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes; which amounted, in ſome mens ſenſe, to as much as the perpetuating of this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the door upon all preſent jealouſies, and future miſtakes: I confeſs, I did not thereby intend to ſhut my ſelf out of doors, as ſome men have now requited me.

True, it was an Act unparallell'd by any of my Predeceſſors; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, That my Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny my ſelf in ſo high a point of my Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit, that my Condition ſhould be worſe, by my bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſs to deſire advantages of doing good or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigour: wherein My intereſt lies more then any

tions, since by those Laws My Rights as a KING, would be preserved no less then My Subjects; which is all I desired. More then the Law gives Me I would not have, and less the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as *I* have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented me of that setling Act: and many would needs perswade Me, *I* had cause so to do: But I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honour. That the more I granted them, the less I should have and enjoy with them. *I* still coun-red my self undiminished by my largest Con-cessions, if by them *I* might gain and confirm the love of My people.

Of which I do not yet despair, but that God will still bless Me with increase of it when men shall have more leisure and less prejudice; that so with unpassionate repre-sentations they may reflect upon those (as I think) not more Princely then friendly contri-butions, which I granted toward the perpe-tuating of their happiness: who are now only miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I inten-ded for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time the Loyal and cleared affections of My people will strive to return such retributions of Ho-nour and love to Me or My Posteritie, as may full-

fully compenſate both the Acts of my co[n]fidence, and my Sufferings for them; whi[ch] (God knows) have been neither few, n[or] ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a pe[r]ſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much or diſtruſt too little, to men, that being profeſſedly my Subjects, pretended ſingular piety and religious ſtrictneſſe.

The injurie of all Injuries is, That which ſome men will needs load Me withall; as if I were a wilfull and reſolved Occaſioner of my Own, and my Subjects Miſeries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falſly divulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of the Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtility, to undoe what by my Royall Aſſent I had done. Sure, it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extreme fatuity of minde in Me, ſo far to binde my Own hands at their requeſt, if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a ſword againſt them. God knows, though I had then a ſenſe of Injuries; yet not ſuch as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure my Self by their not uſing favours with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turne them into wantonneſſe; but I thought at length their own fears, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent ſpirits,

would force them to conjure them down a-

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon me, or others, was I then in any ca- pacitie to have taken just revenge in an hostil and warlike way, upon those, whom I knew s well fortified in the love of the meaner sort o the people, that I could not have given my E nemies greater and more desired advantage against Me, then by so unprincely inconstanci to have assaulted them with Armies, thereb to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemn ly setled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows, I longed for nothing more then that my Self, and my Subjects might qui etly enjoy the fruits of my many Condescen dings.

It had been a Course full of sin, as well a of Hazard and Dishonor; for Me to go abou the cutting up of that by the Sword, whic I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought to my Subjects content, and mine Own too in all probability, if some men had not feare where no fear was, whose security consisted i caring others.

I thank God, I know so well the sincerit and uprightness of my own Heart in passin that great BILL, which exceeded the ver thoughts of former times; That although may seem less a Polititian to men, yet I nee

n

mands me to ſtudie her Securitie, who
in danger for my ſake; I am content to
ſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrack'd, ſo
may be in ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall injoy by her ſafety
the midſt of my Perſonall dangers, that
periſh but half, if ſhe be preſerved: in whoſe
memory and hopefull Poſterity, I may yet ſur-
vive the malice of my Enemies, although they
ſhould be ſatiated with my bloud.

I muſt leave her and them to the Love and
Loyaltie of my good Subjects; and to his pro-
tection, who is able to puniſh the faults of
Princes, and no leſs able to revenge the injuries
done to them, by thoſe who in all dutie and
Allegiance ought to have made good their
ſafetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for
Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected
from thoſe that diſpute their Loyaltie: Nor
can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to
carry among them that are ſhaking hands with
their Allegiance, under pretence of laying fa-
ſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitie ſo noble and peaceful a Soul ſhould
ſee, much more ſuffer the rudeneſs of thoſe,
who muſt make up their want of Juſtice, with
humanity and impudence.

Her ſympathie with Me in my afflictions,
will make her vertue ſhine with greater luſtre,

harrs in the darkeſt nights; and aſſure th
envious world, that ſhe loves me, not my for
tunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſince W
do not much blame the unkindneſs of the Ge
nerality and Vulgar: for we ſee God is pleaſe
to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puni
ſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who havin
eaten of Our bread, and being enriched wit
Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up them
ſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our ow
Houſhold are become Our enemies. I pra
God lay not their ſinne to their charge: wh
think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty, by thei
Corban of Religion: and can leſs endure to ſe
them to ſin againſt their benefactors as well
their Soveraign.

But even that policy of my enemies is ſo fa
veniall, as it was neceſſary to their deſigns, b
ſcandalous articles, and all irreverent deme
nour, to ſeek to drive her out of my Kingdom
leſt by the influence of her example, emine
for love as a Wife, and loyaltie as a Subject, ſh
ſhould have converted to, or retained in the
love and loyaltie, all thoſe whom they had
purpoſe to pervert.

Theleſs I may be bleſt with her compan
the more I will retire ro God and my ow
Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. M
enemies may envie, but they can never depri

ne of the enjoyment of her vertues, whil
njoy my self.

Thou, O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit
o scatter us, let thy mercie, in thy due time, re-
nite us on earth, if it be thy Will; however bring
us both at last to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull
nd deadly enemies; and prepare us by our suffe-
ings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion,
which is my greatest temporall infelicitie) yet
Lord give and accept the sincerities of our affecti-
ns, which desire to seek, to finde, to embrace every
truth of thine.

Let both our hearts agree in the love of thy self,
nd Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to
now, in order to thy glory, our publique relations,
nd our souls eternal good, and make us carefull to
o what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessary to
e known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to
hat we know, be our miserie, or our wilfull
fault.

Let not this great Scandall of those my Sub-
cts, which profess the same Religion with me,
e any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou
ouldst have her to learn, nor any hardning of her
any error thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let

Let Mine and other mens constancie be an A
tidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the truth of that Religion I profesſe
represented to her judgment, with all the beaut
of humilitie, loyaltie, charitie, and peaceablenes
which are the proper fruits and ornaments of
Not in the odious disguise of Levitie, Schism, F
resie, Noveltie, Crueltie and Disloyaltie, wh
some mens practices have put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truth
Thine; that she may beleeve, love and obey t
as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of
mane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy Truth Shee may
thee in those Mercies which thou hast offered t
in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour,
serve thee in all those holy Duties, which mo
gree with his holy Doctrine, and most imit
example:

The experience we have of the vanitie and
certaintie of all humane Glorie and Greatne
out scatterings and eclypses, let it make us
so much the more ambitious to be invested in t
durable Honours and perfections which are o
to be found in thy self, and obtained through J
Christ.

3. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that my greatest Enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett or own it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could bear the losse of my Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for my self; nor did the affront done to me, trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly contain themselves within the compass of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyall undertakers: That bad actions must always be seconded with worse, and rather not begun, then not carried on; for they think

think the retreat more dangerous then
assault, and hate repentance more then pe
verance in a fault.

This gave me to see clearly thorow all
pious disguises, and soft palliations of so
men; whose words were sometime smoot
then oil, but now I saw they would prove
swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defe
but that of a good Conscience, thought it
best policie (with patience) to bear wh
could not remedie: And in this (I thank G
I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdai
emotion of passion transported Me, by the
dignitie of his carriage, to do or say any th
unbeseeming My self, or unsuitable to
temper, which, in greatest injuries, I th
best becomes a Christian, as coming neares
the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire alwaies more to reme
ber I am a Christian, then a King; for what
Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Char
of the other is willing to bear; what the hei
of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie
a Christian teacheth to forgive, keeping
compass all those impotent passions, wh
exces injures a man more then his greates
nemies can; for these give their malice a
impression on our souls, which otherwise ca
not reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded and avenged my cauſe, in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fears to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

First, Sir *John Hotham* unreproched, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of mine, onely blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after paies his own and his eldeſt Sons heads, as forfeiture of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward, then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who employed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſsfull to them, ſhould not finde mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weal. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country: Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

These Observations are obvious to ever
Fancie: God knows, I was so far from re
joycing in the *Hothams* ruine, (though
were such as was able to give the greate
thirst for revenge a full draught, being ex
cuted by them who first employed him again
Me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he
first acted more against the light of his Co
science, then I hope many other men do in t
same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of th
superstitious sowreness which some men pr
tend to in matters of Religion, which so d
kens their judgment, that they cannot see a
thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means th
use, with intents to reform to their Models,
what they call Religion, who think all is go
of Piety, which doth but glister with a shew
Zeal and Fervencie.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of an
ther temper, and so most liable to those dow
right temptations of Ambition, which have n
cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upo
themselves or others.

That which makes me more pitie him, i
that after he began to have some inclinatio
towards a repentance for his sin, and repar
tion of his duty to Me, he should be so u
lappie as to fall into the hands of their Justic
and not my mercie, who could as willing
ha

have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favor of M .

For I think clemency a debt which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pray any thing for his mercie, but only praiers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a noteable monument of unprosperous disloialtie, teaching the world by so bad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign carries alwaies its own vengeance, & an unseparable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imployers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether Hotham were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill*; though 'tis certain that no punishment stains a mans Honour, as wilfull expectation of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Faction of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on their actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take

any secret pleasure in it, for as his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more than the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish.

O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive; who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sinns (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the Lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sinn, who know not the

they have done amiss, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickedness.

That preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may escape the stroaks of thine eternal vengeance.

And do Thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy Servant in mercie and truth meeting together; let my Crown ever flourish in righteousness and peace kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to doe good to, and to love our Enemies for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie Him.

9. *Upon the liſting, and raiſing Armies againſt the* KING.

I Find that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was, when they forced me to leave *White-hall*: what tumults could not do an Army muſt; which is but Tumults liſted and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My receſſe have given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invinciable through Gods Grace enabling Me; here I am ſure to be Conquerour, if God will give me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancy, as to fear him more then man: and to love the inward peace of my Conſcience, before any outward tranquility.

And muſt I be oppoſed with force, becauſe they have not reaſon whereby to convince me? O my Soule! be of good courage, the confeſſe their known weakneſſe, as to truth and Juſtice, who choſe rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for thoſe many acts of Grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many Indignities I have

have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING, but by my ſufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King that loves his People, and deſires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civil War in the bowels of my moſt flouriſhing Kingdom, the fruits I muſt now reap after 17 yeers living and reigning among them with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape, rather through ill counſell of ſome men driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhneſs of others envying the Publick ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable neceſſities of State, then any propenſity, I hope, of my Self either to injuriouſneſſe or oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent bloud, during my Reign, have I ſhed, to ſatisfie my luſt, anger, or covetouſneſs? what Widows or Orphans tears can witneſſe againſt me; the juſt cry of which muſt now be avenged with my Own bloud? For the hazards of War are equall, nor doth the Canon know any reſpect of perſons.

In vain is my Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt me with Swords.

God knowes how much I have ſtudied to
for what Ground of Juſtice is alledged for this
Warr againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving
juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end
ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men)
ſeems rather the productions of a ſurfeit of
peace and wantonneſs of mindes, or of pri-
vate diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which
eaſily finde, or make cauſes of quarrell) then
any reall obſtructions of publique Juſtice, or
Parliamentary Priviledg.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able
to avoid and anſwer before God in My own
Conſcience, however ſome men are not wil-
ling to beleeve Me, leſt they ſhould condemn
themſelves.

When I firſt with-drew from *White-hall*, to
ſee if I could allay the inſolency of the Tu-
mults (for the not ſuppreſſing of which, no ac-
count in Reaſon can be given, (where an or-
derly Guard was granted) but only to oppreſs
both Mine and the Two Houſes freedome of
declaring and voting according to every mans
Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were
there further then this, that what ſeemed juſt
to one man, might not ſeem ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the
Juſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men with-drew, who feared the
partiality of their tryall, (warned by my Lord

of *Strafford's* death) while the vulgar threa[tened] to be their Oppressors, and Judgers of [their] Judges, was from that instinct which is [in] creatures to preserve themselves. If any other refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durst not come to the House, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety; it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them before their Cause could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults over-born the Freedom and Honour of the two Houses, had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences: I know no man so deer to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise, either to withdraw himself, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law, I think every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height for want of timely suppressing the vulgar insolencies, that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents, was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-awed by the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abe[t]

by their ſuffrages, or preſence; the deſignes of those men who agitated innovations and ruine both in Church and State,

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancie and cautiouſneſs; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſs againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more then Safetie, Fulneſs and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary waies by free Deliberations and Votes to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activitie of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary minds to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjoying their ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peers, carried for them by far the Major part of Lords? Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtome, it was by Tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like manner as the Bill againſt Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and ſchiſmaticall Terrours, which could never paſſe til both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To

To which partialitie, while in all Reason, Justice, and Religion, my Conscience forbids me, by consenting, to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I must now be urged with and Armie, and constrained either to hazard my Own, and my Kingdoms ruine, by my Defence, or prostrate my Conscience to the blinde obedience of those men, whose zeal, as superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, then utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolicall, and anciently Universall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which, if other mens judgments bind them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it, mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in my judgement, have also a most strict and indispensable Oath upon my Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjurie, most un-beseeming a Christian King, should I ever, by giving my consent, be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater miserie, then any hath, or can befall me; in as much as the least sin hath more evill in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-Episcopall Faction at first in this point with my Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government and Revenues to

ry of their covetousnes, ambition, and revenge, I beleeve they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bil of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentednes to suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honour for my sake, and the Commonweals, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to my Kingdom. That I cannot add my consent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolicall, and so very sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when that is onely of civill Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnes, I know none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a War, being onely such as Justice, Reason and Religion had made in my own and other mens Consciences.

After-

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Del-
quents was made, which were but conſequen-
es neceſſarily following upon Mine, or others
withdrawing from, or defence againſt vio-
ence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſi-
on of raiſing an Army againſt Me. Wherein I
was ſo far from preventing them, (as they
have declared often, that they might ſeem to
have the advantage and Juſtice of the defen-
ive part, and load Me with all the envie and
njuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that (God
knows) I had not ſo much as any hopes of an
Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults
been honourably and effectually repreſſed by
exemplary juſtice, and the Liberty of the Hou-
es ſo vindicated, that all Members of either
Houſe might with Honour and Freedom, be-
oming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſchar-
ed their Conſciences, I had obtained all that
deſigned by My withdrawing, and had much
nore willingly and ſpeedily returned, then I
etired; this being My neceſſity driving, the
ther my choice deſiring.

But ſome men knew, I was like to bring the
me Judgment and Conſtancy which I car-
ed with Me, which would never fit their de-
gnes; and ſo while they invited Me to come,
nd grievouſly complained of My abſence, yet
ey could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpeci-
ly, when they had found out that plauſible

and

and popular pretexts of raiſing an Army t
fetch in Delinquents: when all that while the
never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intoler
ble delinquencie of the Tumults, and their E
citers, which drave my Self, and ſo many o
both Houſes from their places, by moſt ba
barous indignities; which yet in all Reaſon an
Honour, they were as loath to have deſerte
as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, th
ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute the
with the injuries of an Army, for not ſufferi
more tamely the injuries of Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift an
deſigne in raiſing an Army againſt me, is by th
ſequel ſo evident, that all other pretence
vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſiti
ons, or Treaties, what they would have to ap
peaſe them; there was nothing of conſequenc
offered to Mee, or demanded of Mee, as an
originall difference in any point of Law, o
order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer In
novations, this chiefly was urged, The Aboliti
on of Epiſcopall, and the Eſtabliſhment o
Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounde
were either impertinent as to any ground of
War, or eaſily granted by me, and onely t
make up a number; or elſe they were meer
conſequentiall, and acceſſarie, after the W
was by them unjuſtly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat of Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearneſs of judgement might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affairs between Us, when they firſt raiſed an Armie, with this deſigne, either to ſtop my mouth, or to force my conſent: and in this truth, as to my conſcience, (who was God knowes, as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world, from having any preparation for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate Succeſſes of this War, one my ſide, I do not think my Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkened; Nor am I without that Integrity and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſs my Prayer to Him.

For thou, O Lord, ſeeſt cleerly thorow all the clowdings of humane affairs: Thou judgeſt without prejudice: Thy Omniſcience eternally guides thy unerrable judgment.

O my God, the proud are riſen againſt Me, and the Aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my Soul, and have not ſet Thee before their eyes.

Conſider mine Enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred, without a cauſe.

For

For thou knowest, I had no passion, design, preparation to embroil My Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witness, how oft I have deplored and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherin I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirstie of my Subjects blood, as to venture my own life, which I have bin oft compelled to do in this unhappie War; and which were better spent to save then to destroy my people.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would almost make me suspect my own innocencie: Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of mine enemies, and redeem my people from this miserable War; since thou, O Lord, knowest my innocencie in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloodie and deceitful men, many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselvs the enjoimen

yment of the fruits of their violent and wicked
Counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou
hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that de-
ight in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy Self, because of the
ge of mine enemies, which increaseth more and
more. Behold them that have conceived mis-
chief, travelled with iniquitie, and brought forth
falshood.

Thou knowest the chief designe of this War is,
ther to destroy my Person, or force my Judge-
ent, and to make me renege my Conscience, and
Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids choice, and de-
re rather to fall into the hands of men by de-
ing them (though their mercie be cruell) than
to thy hands by sinning against My Conscience,
d in that against thee, who art a consuming
e: Better thy destroy Me, then thou shouldest
mu Me.

Be thou the defence of My soul, who wilt save
upright in heart.

If nothing but My blood will satisfie My Ene-
es, or quench the flames of My Kingdoms, or
temporall Justice, I am content, if it be
will, that it be shed by mine own Subjects
ds.

But O let the blood of Me, though their King,
a sinner, be washed with the blood of my In-
nocent

...r and peace-making Redeemer, for in t... thy Juſtice will finde not only a temporary ... piation, but an eternall plenary ſatisfacti... both for my ſins, and the ſins of my Peop... whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine, ... when thy wrath is appeaſed by my Death, ... Remember thy great mercies towards th... and forgive them! O my Father, for t... know not what they doe.

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10. *Upon their ſeizing the Kin... Magazines, Forts, Navy, a... Militia.*

HOw untruly I am charged with t... firſt raiſing of an Army, and be... ning this Civill Warre, the eyes t... onely pitty Me, and the Loyall hearts t... durſt only pray for me, at firſt, might witne... which yet appear not ſo many on my ſide, ... there were men in Armes liſted againſt me; ... unpreparedneſſe for a War may well diſ-he... ten thoſe that would help Me; while it arg... (truly) my willingnes to fight; yet it teſti... for me, that I am ſet on the defenſive pa... having ſo little hopes or power to defend ... thers, that I have none to defend my ſelf, o... preſerve what is mine own from their pro... tion.

No man can doubt but they prevented n their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who re ſo much before-hand in their preparations gainſt me, and ſurpriſals of my Strength. uch as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; ſo over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the o- hers numbers and terrours. I believe my in- ocency and unpreparedneſs to aſſert my ights and Honour, makes me the more guil- y in their eſteems; who would not ſo eaſily ave declared a War againſt me, if I had firſt ſſaulted them.

They knew, my chiefeſt Arms left me, were thoſe only which the Ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Tears. Theſe may ſerve a good nans turn, if not to conquer as a Souldier, yet o ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, and ſurpriſing my Caſtles, Forts, Arms and Navy, with the Militia, is ſo far beſt for me, That it may rive me from putting any truſt in the arm of eſh, and wholly to caſt my ſelf into the pro- ection of the living God, who can ſave by ew or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be Elias Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make heir ſurpriſall of outward force and defence, n opportunity to ſhew me the ſpecial ſupport f his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want
the *Militia* so much in reference to my
protection, as my Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve
I am above mine own: What I want in
hands of Force and Power, I have in the wi
of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men
needs take to resolve their riddle of Mak
Me a glorious King, by taking away my K
ly power: Thus I shall become a Suppor
my Friends, and a Terrour to my Enemies
being unable to succour the one, or supp
the other.

For thus have they designed and propo
to me the new modeling of Soveraignty
Kingship, as without any reality of power,
without any necessity of subjection and obe
ence: That the Majesty of the Kings of E
land might hereafter hang like Mahom
Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between
Power and Priviledges of the two Houses,
an airy imagination of Regality.

But I beleeve the surfet of too much pow
which some men have greedily seized on, a
now seek wholly to devour, will ere long ma
the Common-wealth sick both of it and the
since they cannot well digest it; Soverai
power in Subjects seldom agreeing with t
stomacks of fellow-subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant
ilitia, sought, by satisfying their fears and
portunities, both to secure my Friends, and
ercome mine Enemies, to gain the peace of
l, by depriving my self of a sole power to help,
hurt any: yeelding the Militia (which is
y undoubted Right no lesse then the Crown)
be disposed of as the two Houses shall
ink fit, during my time.

So willing am I to bury all jealousies in
em of me, and to live above all Jealousies of
em, as to my self; I desire not to be safer
en I wish them and my People: If I had
e sole actuall disposing of the Militia, I
uld not protect my People, further then
ey protected Me and Themselves: so that
e use of the Militia is mutuall. I would but
fend my self so far, as to be able to defend
y good Subjects from those mens violence
d fraud, who conscious to their own evill
erits and designes, will needs perswade the
orld, that none but Wolves are fit to be
usted with the custody of the Shepherd and
s Flock. Miserable experience hath taught
y Subjects, since power hath been wrested
om Me, and imployed against Me and Them,
at neither can be safe, if both be not in such
way as the Law hath intrusted the publike
fety and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of mine, as to the

exer-

execute of the Militia, so vast and large, i
satisfactory to some men; which seem t
Enemies not to me only, but to all Mo
chy; and are resolved to transmit to pos
such Jealousies of the Crown, as they sh
never permit it to enjoy its just and nece
Rights in point of power; to which (at
all Law is resolved, while thereby it is
protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to my
cessors, forbid me to yeeld to such a total
nation of that power from them, which c
and duty, no less then Justice and Ho
should have forbad them to have asked of

For, although I can be content to Ec
my own beams, to satisfie their fears;
think they must needs be scorched or blin
I should shine in the full lustre of Ki
power wherewith God and the Laws
invested me: Yet I will never consent to
out the Sun of Soveraignty to all poste
and succeeding Kings; whose just reco
of their Rights from unjust Usurpations
extortions, shall never be prejudiced or
limited by any Act of mine; which ind
would not be more injurious to succee
Kings, then to my Subjects; whom I d
to leave in a condition not wholly despe
for the future; so as by a Law to be ever
subjected to those many factious distracti
wh

hich must needs follow the many-headed
ea of Government: which as it makes a
w to the people to have more eyes to fore-
; so they will find it hath more mouths
o, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it
h rather a monstrosity, then any thing of
fection, beyond that of right Monarchy;
ere counsell may be in many as the senses,
the Supreme Power can be but in One as
Head.

appily where men have tried the horrours
malignant influence which will certainly
low my enforced darkness and Eclypse,
casioned by the interposition and shadow
that body, which as the Moon receiveth its
(of lights from me) which will at length
re esteem and welcome the restored glory
d blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seem by My reces-
g so much from the use of my Right in the
wer of the *Militia*, to come short of the
charge of that trust to which I am sworn
my peoples protection; I conceive those
o are guilty of the inforced perjury; (if so
y seem) who compell me to take this new
strange way of discharging my trust, by
ning to desert it; of protecting my Subjects,
exposing my self to danger or dishonour,
their safety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civill War and

ad-

advantages of power, cannot be effected
by ſome ſide yeilding; to which the gre
love of the publique peace, and the fir
aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing fro
good Conſcience) doth more invite me,
can be expected from other mens fears; w
ariſing from the injuſtice of their ac
(though never ſo ſucceſsfull) yet dare no
venture their Authours upon any other
of ſafety then that of the Sword and Mi
which yet are but weak defences again
ſtroaks of divine Vengeance, which will
take; or of mens own Conſciences, whi
wayes attend injurious perpetrations.

For my ſelf, I do not think that I can
any thing which providential neceſſity is
ſed to take from me, in order to my Pe
tranquillity and Gods glory, whoſe prote
is ſufficient for me; and he is able by hi
ing with me, abundantly to compenſate to
as he did to Job, what-ever Honour, Po
or Liberty the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, o
Divel himſelf can deprive me of.

Although they take from me all defen
Arms and Militia, all refuge by Lan
Forts and Caſtles, all flight by Sea i
Ships and Navie; yea, though they ſtu
rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects,
greateſt Treaſure and beſt Ammunition
King; yet cannot they deprive me of my
innoc

innocencie, or Gods mercie, nor obstruct my way to heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I fly for help; if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me then can be against me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the losse of all, be thou more then all to me: Make haste to succour me, thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under pretence of fighting for me: But my eies are towards thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have thine; if not no conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whose Judgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing that thou maiest be all.

Thou hast taught me, that no King can be saved by the multitude of an host; but yet Thou canst save me by the multitude of Thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on my side, and I shall

not

fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Iuſtice the glorie of my

ſtreſs.

O let thy mercie have the glorie of my de

verance from them that perſecute my ſoul:

By my ſins have I fought againſt Thee,

robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubje

and juſtly maiſt thou by my own Subjects, ſtr

me of my ſtrength, and eclipſe my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelf, O my hope and only refug

Let not mine enemies ſay, There is no help

him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my fo

ſteps ſlip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me u

der the ſhadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvelous loving kindneſs, O th

that ſaveſt by thy right hand them th

put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe

againſt them;

From the wicked that oppreſs me, from m

deadly enemies that compaſs me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence

fulneſs of joy, at thy right hand there are ple

ſures for evermore.

n that business, by persons of Honor and Inte-
rity, that so I might neither incourage the Re-
ls Insolence, nor discourage the Protestants
oyaltie and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort,
at the necessity and difficulty of affairs would
en permit, I was then to suffer again in my
eputation and Honor; because I suffered not
e Rebels utterly to devour the remaining
andfuls of the *Protestants* there.

I thought that in all reason, the gaining of
at respite could not be so much to the Rebels
dvantages (which some have highly calumni-
ted against me) as it might have been for the
rotestants future, as well as present safety: If
uring the time of that Cessation, some men
ad the grace to have laid *Irelana*'s sad conditi-
n more to heart; & laid aside those violent mo-
ons, which were here carried on by those, that
ad better skill to let blood then to stanch it.

But in all the misconstructions of my actions,
which are prone to find more credulity in men
what is false, and evil, then love or charity to
hat is true and good) as I have no Judge but
od above me, so I can have comfort to appeal
his omniscience, who doth not therefore de-
y my Innocence, because he is pleased so far
try my patience, as he did his servant *Job's*.
I have enough to do to look to my own Con-
ence, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust

as a King: I have ſcarce leiſure to conſ
thoſe ſwarms of reproches, which iſſue o
ſome mens mouths & hearts, as eaſily as ſm
or ſparks do out of a furnace: Much leſ
make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give
men ſatisfaction: who conſcious to their
depth of wickedneſſe are loth to belee
ny man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If
but act the one, I ſhall not much regar
bear the other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience a
as my worſt enemies can faſly ſay. And I
I ſhall ſtill do better then they deſire, o
ſerve I ſhould.

I beleeve it will at laſt appear, that they
firſt began to embroil my other Kingdoms
in great part guilty, if not of the firſt le
out, yet of the not timely ſtopping thoſe
rid effuſions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies pleaſe to
or think) I look upon, as that of my other
doms, exhauſted out of my own veins: no
being ſo much weakened by it as my Self:
I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties n
wil, yet the Mercy of God will at length ſa
his Juſtice, *it is enough*; and command the ſw
of Civil Wars to ſheath it ſelf: his merc
Juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter co
ſion, but our cure: the abatement of our
not the deſolation of theſe Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserve should be restored.

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Christians, unless we crucifie one another.

Because we have no more loved thy truth, and practised in charitie, thou hast suffered a Spirit of Errour and bitterness, of mutuall and mortall hatred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our repentance be our recovery, as our great sins have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered seem small to thee: but make our sins appear to our consciences, as they are represented in the glass of thy Judgements; for thou never punishest small failings, with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sinnes, and remove thy judgments, which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to us, then thy judgments; and make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved; first give us the grace of penitent consciences, and then the tran-

quillitie of united Kingdomes.

the Sea of our Saviours Blood drown our sins, and through this red sea of our own Blood bring us at last to a state of Piety, Peace and Plenty.

As my publick relations to all, make me share in all my Subjects suffering; so give me such a pious sense of them, as becoms a Christian King, and a loving father of my people.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruel zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of those flames, which hath so much wasted my three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved.

And lead those in the ways of thy saving Truths, whose Ignorance or Errors have filled them with rebellious and destructive Principles, which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy justice be against those who malitiously and despightfully have raised or fomented these cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the innocent which the guilty, & the erroneous with the malicious; thou that hadst pitty on Niniveh for the many children that were therein, give us

over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousness makes them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the furnace of thy severe justice, a Posterity which may praise thee for thy mercie.

And deal with me, not according to mans unjust reproaches, but according to the innocency of my Hands in thy sight.

If I have desired or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdoms calamities, If I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloody Distractions; then let thy hand be against me and my Fathers House. O Lord thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so should I not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knowest right well. But I trust not to my own merits, but thy mercies; spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. *Upon the calling in of the* SCOTS, *and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed to many to prefer the desires of that party, before My own interest and honor. But, I see, Royall bountie emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbid Me to reflect on former passages, wherin I shall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make me repent of what I granted them for the publique good: I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that Party into *England*, with an Army only to conforme the Church to their late New model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand, they had, (besides those common and vulgar flou-

rishes

riſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave only to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which deſign and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent means, before the divine Juſtice, I leave to their Conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and croſſeneſs of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that form which they cry up, as the only juſt reformation, and ſettling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but ſeem either paſſion, or ſome ſelf-ſeeking, more then true Zeal, and pious diſcretion, for any forraign State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicins only for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations: That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malig
nant humours in the constitution of the *Eng*
lish Church, which gentler applications the
those of an Army, might not easily have r
moved: Nor is it so proper to hew out Rel
gious Reformations by the sword, as to poli
them by fair & equal disputations among tho
that are most concerned in the differences
whom not force, but reason ought to co
vince.

But their design now seemed rather to c
off all disputation here, then to procure a f
and equal one: For it was concluded ther
That the *English* Clergy must conform to th
Scots pattern before ever they could be hear
what they could say for themselves, or again
the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings bot
for their credits, who urge things with such
violence; and for other mens Consciences too
who can receive little satisfaction in these point
which are maintained rather by Souldier
fighting in the Field, then Scholars disputing
in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion those truths gain
most on mens Judgments and Consciences,
which are least urged with secular violence,
which weakens truth with prejudices; and is
unreasonable to be used, till such means of ra
tional conviction hath been applied, as leaving
no

no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens ob-
stinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of
many learned and pious Church-men in *Eng-*
land; who being alwaies bred up, and conform-
able to the Government of Episcopacy, canno
so soon renounce both their former opinion &
practice, only because that Party of the *Scot*
will needs, by force assist a like Party here, ei-
ther to drive all Ministers as sheep, into th
common fold of Presbyterie, or destroy them
at least fleece them, by depriving them of the be-
nefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presby-
terie were approved to be the only Institution
of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government
yet I beleeve it would be hard to prove tha
Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of m
Subjects, Cõmission by the Sword, to set it up
in any of my Kingdomes, without my con-
sent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his
Apostles payd to the chief governors of States
where they lived, is very cleer in the Gospel
but that he, or they ever commanded to set up
such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way
as those *Scots* endeavour, I think is not very
disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a Supremacy be an in-
stitution of Christ, sure it differs from all o-
thers: and is the first and only point of Chri-

stianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian bloud; whose effusion run in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own bloud, not violently drawing other mens: sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ; none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousness or Ambition, of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point which those *Scots* had by an Army or Commissioners to move Me with, by their many Solemn obtestations, and pious threatnings, but only this, to represent to me the wonderful necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a War, which some men chiefly upon this design at first had begun, & now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schisms, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbitery seeks to suppresse, & render odious under those names: when wise & learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schism, and Sectarism, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the

Ancient

Ancient, and ſtill moſt Univerſal way of the Church-government, and eſpecially as to the particular Laws and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I ſee more Rational and Religious motives, then Souldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe rules of true Reaſon, and peaceable Wiſdom, which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory, and his Churches good: which I think my ſelf ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend; with the moſt judicious zeal and care, by how much I eſteem the Church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above mine Own: and the Salvation of mens ſouls above the preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, I think, without ſin and preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, & faſhioned to their deſigns, till they have firſt gained my conſent, and reſolved, both mine own and other mens conſciences by the ſtrength of their Reaſons. Other violent motions, wch are neither Man-Chriſtian, nor Loyal, ſhall never either ſhake or ſettle my Religion, nor any mans elſe who

knows what Religion means: And how far i
is removed from all Faction, whose proper e
gine is force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of re
sonable men, much lesse of humble Christian
and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high co
ceits of themselves, that they care not what c
they lay out upon their opinions: especiall
those that have some temptation of gain, to r
compence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the Sc
Armies coming in against my will, and th
forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, a
gratitude to me: then I wondred how th
here, could so much distrust Gods assistan
who so much pretended Gods cause to the p
ple, as if they had the certainty of some div
Revelation; considering they were more t
competently furnished with my Subjects Ar
and Ammunition, my Navie by Sea, my For
Castles and Cities by Land.

But I finde that men jealous of the Just
cableness of their doings, and designs be
God, never thinke they have humane stren
enough to carry their work on; seem it ne
so plausible to the people; what cannot
justified in Law and Religion, had need t
fortified with power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that atte
all minds engaged in violent motion,

wh

whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come in to their aſſiſtance; others of them ſoon after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one party thought to rivet to a ſetlednes by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemus; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk-government, & diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargeable, more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a far cheaper rate, the Truth & happines of Reformed Government and Diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom for their advice in a ful & free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, & mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the filmes and pretentions of Religion, in which Polititians wrap up their deſignes: in vaine do men hope to build their Piety on the Ruines of loyalty. Nor can thoſe conſiderations or deſignes be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from me, in a prodigality of their

love

ove and reſpects towards me, as to make m
o deſpair of their return; when beſides th
onds of Nature and Conſcience which th
ave to me, all Reaſon and true Policy wi
each them, That their chiefeſt intereſt conſi
n their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſe
viceableneſs to any Party of the People, to
eglect and betraying of my Safety and Hon
or their own advantages: However the le
cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſh
apply my Self to God.

The Troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of my diſtreſſe.

Lord direct thy Servant in the ways of th pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policie.

Deliver me from the combined ſtrength hoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents ſubti ty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them n prevail againſt my Soul, to the betraying my Conſcience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canſt turn the hearts of th Parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the m of Judah *and* Iſrael, *to reſtore* David *with much loyal zeal, as they did with inconſtan and eagerneſſe purſue him.*

Preſerve the love of thy truth and uprigh neſs in me, and I ſhall not deſpair of My Sub jects affections returning towards me.

Tho

Thou canſt ſoon cauſe the overflowing Sea ebbe, and retire back again to the boun which thou haſt appointed for them.

O My God, I truſt in thee; let me not be aſha ned; let not my enemies triumph over me.

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſs without cauſe; let them be turned back that perſecute my ſoul.

Let integrity and uprightneſs preſerve me, for I wait on thee O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

14. *Vpon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hir
at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothi
will induce them to engage, till those that c
them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by
Solemn League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and
pretensions are brought chiefly to batter or r
Episcopacy: This they make the grand evil S
rit, which with other Imps purposely added,
make it more odious, & terrible to the Vulg
must by so solemn a charm & exorcism be c
out of this Church, after more then a thousa
years possession here, from the first plantati
of Christianity in this Island, and an univer
prescription of time and practice in all oth
Churches since the Apostles times till this l
Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it; Presb
tery like a young Heir, thinks the Father h
lived long enough, & impatient not to be in t
Bishops chair and authority (though Lay-m
go away with the Revenus) all art is used
sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *E*
land; which was lately boyed up in *Scotl*
by the late artifice of a Covenant.

Althou

Although I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant ſome referring to my ſelf with very dubious and dangerous limitations (yet I chiefly wonder at the deſign and drift touching the Diſcipline and Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new ways, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſs, then ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no clear morall neceſſity, but very diſputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgment and certainty in ones ſelf, or that charity or candour to others of different opinion, as I think religion requires, which never refuſes fair and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too, in matters only probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People muſt needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no leſſe ſuperfluous, where former Religious and Legal Engagements, bound men ſufficiently, to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with their former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken, to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But

ambitious minds never think they h
snares and ginnes enough to catch
the vulgar credulity: for by ſuch p
cke and ſeemingly pious ſtratagems,
think to keep the popularity faſt to their
ties under the terrour of perjury: Whereas
tainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thou
themſelves ſufficiently bound by former
of Religion, Allegiance, and lawes, to
and man.

Nor can ſuch after-contracts, deviſed
impoſed by a few men in a declared Pa
without my conſent, and without any l
power or preſident from Gods or mans law
be ever thought by judicious men ſufficient
ther to obſolve or ſlacked thoſe moral and
ternall bonds of duty which lie upon all
Subjects conſciences both to God and me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men
leaſt offend God or Me, by keeping th
Covenant in honeſt and lawfull wayes; ſinc
have the charity to think, that the chief end
the Covenant in ſuch mens intentions, was,
preſerve Religion in purity, and the Ki
doms in peace: To other then ſuch ends a
meanes they cannot think themſelves eng
ged; nor will thoſe, that have any true touch
of Conſcience endeavour to carry on the b
deſignes, (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will
daily more apparently factious and ambitiou

any unlawfull means, under that title
Covenant: unleſſe they dare preferre
ious, dangerous and un-authorized novel-
before their known and ſworn duties,
ich are indeſpenſable, both to God and my

am prone to beleeve and hope, That many
took the Covenant, are yet firme to this
ment, That ſuch latter Vowes, Oaths, or
ues, can never blot out thoſe former gra-
s, and characters, which by juſt and law-
Oaths were made upon their Souls.

hat which makes ſuch Confederations by
of Solemn Leagues and Covenants more
ſuſpected, is, That they are the common
uſed in all factious and powerfull pertur-
ons of State or Church: when formalities
xtraordinary zeal and piety are never more
ed and elaborate, then, when Polititians
agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that
led, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which
ch ſcrues are cunningly, ye forcibly
ted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſencible de-
from their known rule and wonted pra-
and comply with the humours of thoſe
who ayme to ſubdue all to their own
nd power, under the diſguiſes of Holy
binations.

hich cords and wythes will hold mens
iences no longer, then force attends

and

and twists them: for every man soon g
his own Pope, and easily absolves himse
those ties, which, not the commands of
Word, or the Laws of the Land, bu
ly the subtilty and terrour of a Party ca
on him; either superfluous and vain,
they were sufficiently tied before; or fr
lent and injurious, if by such afterliga
they find the Imposers really ayming
solve, or suspend their former just and
sary obligations.

Indeed such illegall ways seldom or
intend the engaging men more to dutie
only to Parties; therefore it is not re
how they keep their Covenants in po
piety pretended, provided they adhere
to the Party and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are conte
make their Covenant like Manna (no
it came from Heaven, as this did) agr
to every mans palate and relish, wh
but swallow it; They admit any me
ses of it, the divers or contrary; wi
salvoes, cautions and reservations, so as
cross not their chief Design, which i
against the Church and me.

It is enough if they get but the repu
of a seeming encrease to their Party; so
do men remember that God is not moc

In such latitudes of sense, I beleive

love Me, and the Church well, may have
en the Covenant, who yet are not ſo for
and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to
cleerly againſt both all piety & loyalty: who
t yeelded to it, more to prevent that immi-
nt violence and ruine, which hung over their
ads in caſe they wholly refuſed it, then for a-
value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of ſome generall
nſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to
ve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring
t lawfully they may, in their Places and
llings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for
ſe (indeed) carry no man beyond thoſe
nds of good Conſcience, which are certain &
d either in Gods Laws, as to the Generall;
the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to
particular regulation and exerciſe of mens
ies.

I would to God ſuch as glory moſt in the
e of *Covenanters*, would keep themſelves
hin thoſe lawfull bounds, to which God
h called them: ſurely it were the beſt way
xpiate the raſhneſſe of taking it; which
t needs then appear, when beſides the
t of a full and lawfull Authority at firſt
njoyn it, it ſhall actually be carried on
nd and againſt thoſe ends which were in
cified and pretended. I willingly forgive
mens taking the Covenant, who keep

it

t within such bounds of Piety, Law, and
altie, as can never hurt either the Church
lelf, or the Publick Peace: Against which
mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the C
which the Covenant pretends, I cannot
it just or comely, that by the partiall adv
a few Divines, (of so soft and servile ten
as disposed them to so sudden acting and
pliance, contrary to their former judge
profession, and practise) such foule sc
and suspitions should be cast upon th
ctrine and Government of the Chur
England, as was never done (that I have
by any that deserved the name of *Ref*
Churches abroad, nor by any men of le
and candour at home: all whose judgm
cannot but prefer before any mens now
ously engaged.

No man can be more forward then M
to carry on all due Reformations, whi
ture judgment, and a good Conscienc
what things I shall (after impartiall advi
by Gods Word, and right reason, con
to be amiss, I have offered more than ev
fullest, freest, and wisest Parliament
desire.

But the sequele of some mens actions
it evident, that the maine information
ded, is the abasing of Episcopacy into

by

ery, and the robbing of the Church of its
nd and Revenues: For, no men have been
re injuriously used, as to their legall Rights
n the Bishops, and Church-men. These,
the fattest Dear, must be destroyed; the
er Rascal herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c.
ng leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Tole-
ion: Thus *Naboth*'s Vine-yard made him
onely Blasphemer of his City, and fit to
Still I see: while the breath of Religion
the Sailes, Profit is the compasse, by which
tious men steer their course in all seditious
nmotions.

thank God, as no man lay more open to
sacrilegious temptation of usurping the
rches Lands, and Revenues, (which issu-
chiefly from the Crown, are held of it,
legally can revert onely to the Crowne
h my Consent) so I have alwayes had such
rfect abhorrence of it in my Soule, that I
er found the least inclination to such sacri-
ous Reformings: yet no man hath a grea
desire to have Bishops and all Church-men,
formed, that they may best deserve and
not onely what the pious munificence of
Predecessours hath given to God and the
rch, but all other additions of Christian
nity.

ut no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive me
line to invade or sell the Priests Lands,
which

which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Jo*
true piety abhorred to do: So unjuſt I
it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religio
deprive the moſt ſacred employment
due incouragements; and like that other
hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw
encreaſe the Task; ſo purſuing the opp
Church as ſome have done, to the red
a Civill War, where nothing but a mirac
ſave either it, or him, who eſteems it his
eſt Title to be called, and his chiefeſt gl
be *The defender of the Church, both*
true faith, and its juſt fruitions; equa
boring Sacriledge and Apoſtacy.

I had rather live as my Predeceſſour
the 3. ſometime did, on the Churches
then violently to take the bread out of B
and Miniſters mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* ref
tion, conſecrating the meaneſt of the
to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe
Calves who have enrich'd themſelves wi
Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which
it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts and
is well enough known: And ſo it w
here, when from the tuition of King
Queens, which have been nurſing fathe
mothers of this Church, it will be at t
lowance, who have already diſcovered,
hard fathers, and ſtep-mothers they will

f the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the
ty of *England* cannot excuſe the envy
rapine of the Churches Rights and Re-
nes.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent
ſe ſad conſequences, which will inevita-
follow the parity and poverty of Mini-
, both in Church and State; ſince I think
leſſe then a mocking and tempting of
, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs
ſe occaſions and remedies are in our own
r; it being every mans ſin not to avoid the
and not to uſe the other.

here are ways enough to repair the brea-
s of the State without the ruins of the
rch; as I would be a reſtorer of the one, ſo
ould not be an oppreſſor of the other un-
the pretence of publick Debts: The occaſi-
contracting them were bad enough, but
a diſcharging of them would be much
ſe; I pray God neither I, nor mine, may
ceſſary to either.

*o thee, O Lord, do I addreſſe my Prayer, be-
bing thee to pardon the raſhneſs of my Sub-
Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and
vation of thoſe juſt, morall and indiſpen-
bonds, which thy word and the Laws of
Kingdom have laid upon their Conſci-
From which no pretenſions of Pi ty & re-*

formation

formation are sufficient to absolve them;
engage them to any contrary practises.
Make them at length seriously to consider
nothing violent and injurious can be reli
Thou allowest no mans committing
sedge under the zeal of abhorring Idols.
Suffer not sacrilegious designs to ha
countenance of religious ties.
Thou hast taught us by the wisest of K
that it is a snare to take things that are
and Vows to make enquiry.
Ever keep thy Servant from consent
perjurious and sacraligeous rapine; that
not have the brand and curse to all poste
robing Thee and thy Church, of wh
bounty hath given us, and thy clomencie
accepted from us, wherewith to enc
Learning and Religion.
Though My Treasures are Exhauste
Revenues Diminished, and My Debts
creased, yet never suffer Me to be temp
use such profane Reparation; lest a coal
thine Altar set such a fire on My Thro
Conscience as will hardly be quenched.
Let not the Debts and Engagements
Publique, which some mens folly and pr
litie hath contracted, be an occasion to in
rish thy Church.
The State may soon recover, by thy b
of peace upon us; The Church is never li

times, where the Charity of most men is grown cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and Thy Church all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, & the relief of the poor: That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnesse, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have combyned together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I shall never miscarry.

15. *Upon the many Jealou raiſed, and Scandals caſt the* KING, *to ſtirre up the ple againſt him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and G protection, it were hard for Me to out againſt thoſe ſtratagems and conflic malice, which by falſities ſeek to oppreſſe Truth; and by Jealouſies to ſupply the d of reall cauſes, which might ſeem to juſtif unjuſt ingagements againſt Me.

And indeed, the worſt effects of open h lity come ſhort of theſe deſignes: For, I more willingly loſe My Crownes, then credit; nor are My Kingdomes ſo dear to as My Reputation and Honor.

Thoſe muſt have a period with my life; theſe may ſurvive to a glorious kind of mortality, when I am dead and gone: A g name being the imbalming of Princes, a ſweet conſecrating of them to an Eterni love and gratitude among Poſterity.

Thoſe foul and falſe aſperſions were engines at firſt employed againſt My pe love to Me: that undermining their o and value of Me, My enemies, and the

night at one blow up their affections, and
atter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment
f My Honor is not so afflictive to Me, as the
n and danger of My peoples souls, whose
yes once blinded with such mists of suspici-
ns, they are soon misled into the most de-
erate precipices of actions: wherein they do
t only, not consider their sin and danger,
t glory in their zealous adventures; while I
rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that
any are ambitious to merit the name of My
estroyers; Imagining they then fear God
ost, when they least honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pity
as above My anger; nor have My passions
er so prevailed against me, as to exclude My
ost compassionate prayers for them, whom
evout errours more then their own malice
ve betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most
rt of My Subjects fought against My sup-
sed Errours, not My person; and intended
mend Me, not to end Me. And I hope that
od pardoning their Errours, hath so farre
cepted and answered their good intenti-
s, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he
th by these afflictions prepared me, both to
him better service, and My people more
od then hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their ſe
ductions, which occaſioned their loyall in
ries, then I am ambitious by all Princely n
rits to redeem them from their unjuſt ſuſp
ons, and reward them for their good inten
ons.

I am too conſcious to My own affecti
toward the generality of my people to ſuſp
theirs to Me; nor ſhall the malice of My E
mies ever be able to deprive Me of the c
fort which that confidence gives Me; I
never gratifie the ſpightfulneſſe of a few
any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegia
whom pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens ambition can do, ſ
never perſwade Me, to make ſo bad inter
tations of moſt of My Subjects actions;
poſſibly may be erroneous, but not Hereti
in point of Loyalty.

The ſence of the injuries done to My S
jects is as ſharp, as thoſe done to My S
our welfares being inſeparable; in this
they ſuffer more then My ſelf, that they
animated by ſome ſeducers ro injure at
both themſelves and Me.

For this it is not enough to the malice o
Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it muſt
done by ſuch inſtruments, that My afflict
grieve Me not more, then this doth, that
afflicted by thoſe, whoſe proſperity I

restly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been my open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children dear to me: And for the restoring of some tranquillity, I could willingly be the Jonah, if I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the storm of their miseries would be rather increased then allayed.

I had rather prevent my peoples ruin then rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion which is but My Right, as of their happiness; If it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of subjects committed against their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die many deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonourable to betray My own just Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of my enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of disloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, so malicious

sions need good inventions; th
r calumnies may fit every mans fancy; a
what their reproaches want of truth, they m
make up with numbers and ſhew.

My patience (I thank God) wil better ſer
Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, th
My leiſure to anſwer the many falſe Aſp
ſions which ſome men have caſt upon Me.

Did I not more conſider My Subjects S
tisfaction, then my owne Vindication, I ſho
never have given the malice of ſome men t
pleaſure, as to ſee me take notice of, or r
member what they ſay, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be puniſh
by their own evill manners, and feared Co
ſciences, which will, I believe, in a ſhor
time then they be aware of, both confute a
revenge all thoſe black and falſe Scand
which they have caſt on me; And make t
world ſee, there is as little truth in them,
there was little worth in the broaching
them, or Civility, (I need not ſay Loyalty)
the not ſuppreſſing of them; whoſe credit a
reputation, even with the people, ſhall ere lo
be quite blaſted by the breath of that fa
fornace of popular obloquy, and detracti
which they have ſtudied to heat and inflame
the higheſt degree of infamy, and whe
they have ſought to caſt and conſume
Name and Honor.

Fi

cified by an Ordinance the better to plea-
ther those men, who gloried in their extem-
rary veine and fluency: or others, who
nscious to their own formality in the use
it, thought they fully expiated their sin of
t using it aright, by laying all the blame up-
it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter,
reby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the book,
er and learned men have sufficiently vin-
ated it against the cavils and exceptions of
ose who thought it a part of piety to make
hat profane objections they could against it;
pecially for Popery and Superstition; where-
no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conform-
to the doctrine of the Church of *England*, as
by all Reformed Churches is confessed to
most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using set and prescribed
rms, there is no doubt but that wholsome
rds being known and fitted to mens un-
standings, are soonest received into their
rts, and aptest to excite and carry along
h them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor doe I see any reason why Christians
ld be weary of a well-composed Liturgie
hold this to be) more then of all other
s, wherein the constancy abates nothing
excellency and usefulness.

could never see any Reason, why any Chri-
stian

stian should abhor, or be forbidden to use
same Forms of prayer, since he prayes to
same God, believes in the same Saviour,
fesseth the same Truths, reads the same Sc
tures, hath the same duties upon him,
feels the same daily wants for the most
both inward and outward, which are com
to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well beforehand know
we pray, as to whom we pray; and in
word, as to what sense; when we desire
same things, what hinders we may not use
same words? our appetite and digestion
may be good, when we use, as we pray for
daily bread.

Some men, I hear, are so impatient n
use in all their devotions their own inve
and gifts, that they not only disuse (as
many) but wholly cast away and contem
Lords Prayer: whose great guilt is, that
the warrant and originall patern of all se
turgies in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostent
of mens abilities for invention, and the
affectation of variety for expressions, in
like prayer, or any sacred administrat
merits a greater brand of sin, then that w
they call coldness and Barrenness: Nor
men in those novelties less subject to for
and superficiall tempers, (as to their he

hen in the use of constant Forms, where not
words, but mens hearts are too blame.
make no doubt but a man may be very for-
all in the most extemporary variety; & ve-
fervently devout in the most worned ex-
ssions: Nor is God more a God of variety,
n of constancy: Nor are constant Forms
prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the
rit of Prayer and Devotion, than an impre-
ditated and confused variety, to distract
lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest,
, and humble use of Ministers gifts,
publique, the better to fit, and excite
owne, and the peoples affections to the
nt occasions: yet I know no necessity
y private and single abilities should quite
ude out, & deprive the Church of the joynt
ities and concurrent gifts of many learned
d godly men; such as the Compolers of
e Service-Book were; who may in all rea-
be thought to have more of gifts & gra-
enabling them to compose with serious
liberation & concurrent advice, such Forms
prayers, as may best fit the Churches com-
wants, inform the Hearers understan-
, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent
ation of their spirits (wherein consists
very life and soul of prayer, and that so
pretended Spirit of prayer) then any
private

private man by his ſolitary abilities, can
preſumed to have; which, what they are m
times (even there, where they make a g
noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptin
impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flat
levity, obſcurity, vain and ridiculous rep
ons, the ſenſleſſe, and oft-times blaſphe
expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a
tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficie
convince all men, but thoſe who glory in
Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impu
and flatterers of themſelves, not to ha
infinite ſhame of what they do and ſa
things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God
the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and in
profane a manner.

Not can it be expected, but that in dut
frequent performance, as Sacramentall a
niſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill
ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe
own Forms conſtantly, which are not li
be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the na
of the duty, as forms of publike compo
or elſe they muſt every time affect new ex
ſions when the ſubject is the ſame; whic
hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt
ciencies not to want (many times) muc
that compleatneſſe, order, and gravity
coming thoſe duties; which by this m

e expoſed at every celebration to every Mi-
llers private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, er-
ours, diſorders, and defects, both for judge-
ent and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconvenience in
e Church unavoidably following every
ns ſeverall manner of officiating, no doubt,
t occaſioned the wiſdome and piety of the
ncient Churches, to remedy thoſe miſchiefs,
the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of publike
mpoſure.

The want of which I believe this Church
ill ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits
many mens ungoverned ignorance, and
nfident defects, ſhall be diſcovered in more
ours, ſchiſmes, diſorders, and uncharitable
ractions in Religion, which are already but
o many, and the more is the pitie.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in
d abet thoſe innovations, (that men may
t ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law,
aſon, and Religion forbids, at leaſt to be ſo
truded, as wholly to juſtle out the publike
urgy;

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt
d partiall ſeverity of thoſe men, who ei-
r lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed and main-
ed the Service-book; or refuſed to uſe it,
d out of the rigour of Laws and Biſhops,
h ſuffered them not to uſe the Liberty of

their

their Consciences in not using it.

That these men, (I say) should so sudd
change the Liturgy into a Directory, as i
Spirit needed help for invention, though
for expressions; or as if matter prescribed
not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit,
it were cloathed in, and confined to fit w
(so slight & easie is that Legerdemain w
will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severi
not to suffer without penalty, any to u
Common-Prayer-Book publikely, alth
their consciences bind them to it, as a du
Piety to God, and Obedience to the La

Thus I see, no men are prone to be gr
Tyrants, and more rigorous exactors
others to conform to their illegall nov
then such, whose pride was formerly lea
posed to the obedience of lawfull Con
tions; and whose licentious humours
pretended conscientious liberties, which
dome, with much regret, they now all
Me, and My Chaplains, when they may
leave to serve Me, whose abilities, even in
extemporary way comes not short of t
thers, but their modesty and learning s
ceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nat
some men knew it would not bear learne
sober debates, lest being convinced by th

lence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould ve been driven either to ſin more againſt eir knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; r to diſpleaſe ſome faction of the people, by ontinuing the uſe of it.

Though, I beleeve, they have offended more onſideraole men, not onely for their numbers nd eſtates, but for their weighty and judi- ious piety, then thoſe are, whoſe weakneſſe giddineſſe they ſought to gratifie by taking away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found ith the Common-Prayer-Book, I beleeve, as this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft Me; to which Petitions they had not oyaltie enough to ſay *Amen*, nor yet Charitie ough to forbear Reproaches, and even Curſ- gs of Me in their own Forms, in ſtead of aying for Me.

I wiſh their repentance may be their onely niſhment; that ſeeing the miſchiefs, which diſuſe of publick Liturgies hath already oduced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe and erence to them, which by the ancient Chur- s were given to ſet Forms of ſound and olſom words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, ſted for ever, whoſe Mercies are full of va- ie, and yet of conſtancie; Thou deniedſt us not a

new and fresh sense of our old and daily w
nor despisest renewed affections joyned t
stant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Chu
united and well advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our praiers be agre
to thy will which is always the same, an
fervency of our spirits to the motions of th
ly Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy spiritua
fections are such as thou art neither to be
sed with affected Novelties for matter or
ner, nor offended with the pious consta
our petitions in them both.

Whose varietie or constancie thou hast no
either forbidden or commanded but left
to the piety and prudence of thy Church,
both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of
judgements in matters of Religion; tha
ignorance may not offend others, nor their
on of their own abilities tempt them to de
others of what they may lawfully and de
use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error o
novelty & variety, as truths in unity
stancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestere
errours, and deformed with undecencies
service, under the pretence of variety
veltie. Nor to be deprived of truth, unit

under this fallacy That constancie is the
se of formality.
Lord, keepe us from formall Hypocrisie as one
Henrie, and then we know that praying to
, or praising of thee (with David, and
Holy men) in the same formes cannot
us.
ive us wisdom to amend what is amiss with-
, and there will be less to mend without us,
Evermore defend and deliver thy Church
the effects of blind zeale and over-hold
ition.

Of the differences between the KING and the two Houses, in Point of Church-Government.

Touching the Government of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute in maintaining it; not so much out of piety, as policie, or reason of state.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth move me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impossible for a State to preserve the State in quiet, unless it hath such an influence upon Church-men, as they such a dependance on him, as may

beſt reſtraine the ſeditious exorbitancies
Miniſters tougues; who with the Keye
Heaven have ſo far the Keyes of the Peo
hearts, as they prevail much by their Ora
to let in, or ſhut out, both *Peace* and Loy
So that I being (as King) intruſted by G
and the Lawes, with the good both of Chu
and State; I ſee no Reaſon I ſhould give
or weaken by any change, that power and i
ence which in right and reaſon I ough
have over both.

The moving Biſhops out of the Hou
Peers (of which I have elſwhere given a
count) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpi
that I inclined to them for any uſe to be
of their Votes in State affaires: Thoug
deed I never thought any Biſhop worth
ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote a
ding to his Conſcience.

I muſt now in Charity be thought deſ
to preſerve that Government in its R
conſtitution, as a matter of Religion; wh
both my judgement is fully ſatisfied, th
hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture gro
and alſo the conſtant practiſe of all Chr
Churches; till of late years, the tumul
neſſe of People, or the factiouſneſſe and
of Presbyters, or the covetouſneſſe of
States and Princes, gave occaſion to
mens wits to invent new models, and pr

hem under ſuſpicious titles of *Chriſts gover-*
ent, Scepter, and Kingdom; the better to
ve their turns, to whom the change was be-
eficiall.

They muſt give me leave, (having none of
eir temptations to invite me to alter the
overnment of Biſhops, (that I may have a
le to their Eſtates) not to beleeve their pre-
nded grounds to any new waies: contrary
the full, and conſtant teſtimony of all Hi-
ories ſufficiently convincing unbiaſed men;
at as the Primitive Churches were undoub-
dly governed by the Apoſtles and their im-
diate Succeſſours the firſt & beſt Biſhops:
it cannot in reaſon or charity be ſuppoſed,
at all Churches in the world ſhould either
ignorant of the rule by them preſcribed, or
ſoon deviate from their divine & holy pat-
rn: That ſince the firſt Age, for 1500 years
t one Example can be produced of any ſet-
d Church, wherein were many Miniſters and
ongregations, which had not ſome Biſhop
ove them, under whoſe juriſdiction and go-
rnment they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall practiſe a-
ring with ſo large and evident Scripture-
ctions, and examples, are ſet down in the
ſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſetling
that Government not in the perſons onely
Timothy and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion;

(the want of Government being that, w
the Church can no more diſpence with
point of wel-being, then the want of the w
and Sacrament in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to looke wit
envious an eye upon Biſhops power and
thority, as to over-ſee both the Eccleſiaſ
uſe of them, and Apoſtolicall conſtitu
which to me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet fo
as to the maine ſcope and deſigne of thoſ
piſtles, for the ſetling of a peculiar O
Power, and Authority in them as Preſid
Biſhops above others, in point of Ordina
Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſticall
cipline; then thoſe ſhorter characters of
qualities and duties of Presbyter-Biſhops,
Deacons are deſcribed in ſome parts of
ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude & com
nity of the name were then, and may now
improperly be called Biſhops, as to the o
ſight and care of ſingle Congregations, c
mitted to them by the Apoſtles, or thoſe
poſtolicall Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and
tus) ſucceeded them in that ordinary po
there aſſigned over larger diviſions in w
were many presbyters.

The humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoi
the eminent title of Apoſtles as a name i
Churches fitde appropriated from its com
notion (*of a Meſſenger, or one ſent*) to

ſpe

t, w[illegible]ial dignity, which had extraordinary call,
with [illegible]ion, gifts and power immediately from
the w[illegible]rist: they contented themselves with the
[illegible]inary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, un-
e wit[illegible] Use (the great Arbitrator of words, and
r and [illegible]ter of Language) finding reason to distin-
esiast[illegible]h by a peculiar name those persons, whose
stituti[illegible]wer and Office were indeed distinct from,
set fo[illegible] above all other in the Church, as succee-
thos[illegible] the Apostles in the ordinary and con-
ar O[illegible] power of governing the Churches, (the
Presid[illegible]nour of whose name they moderately, yet
dinat[illegible]mmendably declined) all Christian Chur-
sticall[illegible] (submitting to that special Authority) ap-
ers of [illegible]priated also the name of Bishop, without
hops, [illegible] suspicion or reproach of arrogancie, to
rts of [illegible]se who were by Apostolicall propagation
com[illegible]ntly descended and invested into that highest
now [illegible]d largest power of governing even the most
the [illegible]e and Primitive Churches: which, with-
ons, [illegible] all doubt, had many such holy Bishops,
thos[illegible] the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whose
y and [illegible]cial power is not more clearly set down in
ry po[illegible]se Epistles (the chief grounds and limits
s in w[illegible]ll Episcopall claim, as from divine Right)
[illegible]en are the characters of these perilous times
s avoi[illegible] those men that make them such; who not
me i[illegible]during found Doctrine, and clear testimo-
a com[illegible]es of all Churches practice, are most per-
) to [illegible]se Disputers, and proud Usurpers, against
spe[illegible]

true Episcopacy: who if they be not Tra
tours and Boasters, yet they seem to be ver
covetous, heady, high-minded; inordina
and fierce, lovers of themselves, having mu
of the form, little of the power of godlines
Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, a
unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay and smo
ther the pregnancy & authority of that pow
of Episcopall Government, which, beyo
all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of name
is most convincingly set forth, both by Scri
ture, and all after Histories of the Church,
This I write rather like a Divine, then
Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever the
papers be publique) that I had faire groun
both from Scripture-Canons, and Eccles
stical examples whereon my judgement w
stated for Episcopall Government.
Nor was it any pollicy of State or obstina
of will, or partiality of affection, either to t
men, or their Function which fixed me; wh
cannot in point of worldly respects be so co
siderable to me as to recompence the injuri
and losses I and my deerest relations with
Kingdomes have sustained, and hazarde
chiefly at first upon this quarrell.
And not only in Religion, of which, Scri
ture is the best rule, and the Churches Un
versall practise the best commentary, but al
in right reason, and the true nature of Go
vernme

vernment, it cannot be thought, that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianity, then it is in all secular and civill Governments, where Parity breeds confusion and faction.

I can no more beleeve, that such Order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beautie, or numbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several Orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them amongst Christian Ministers; who have as much of the principles of Schism and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolical wisdom (which was Divine) after that Christians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve Order and Union with Authority.

So that, I conceive, it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters; but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first setled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used and enjoyned in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this

Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Councell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a meanes to avoid those Errours, Corruptions and Partialities, which are incident to any one man: Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame or Goverment which is paternall, not Magisteriall; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function, but also the differences of some Ministers gifts and aptitudes for Government above others doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those Abilities wherin they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of mine touching Episcopacy, any re-occupation of opinion which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie my self in what the chief Patrons of other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as far lesse Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for example

ples and practice of the Church, or re-
nies of Histories, they are wholly defi-
e; wherein the whole stream runs so for
iscopacy, that there is not the least rivulet
any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some
reformed Churches (for many retain Bi-
ops still) whom necessity of Times and At-
a rather excuseth, then commendeth for
ir inconformity to all Antiquity; I could
ver see any reason why Churches orderly
rmed, and governed by Bishops, should
forced to conform to those few, rather
to the catholick Example of all ancient
urches, which needed no Reformation:
to those Churches at this day, who go-
ned by Bishops in all the Christian world,
many more then Presbyterians or Inde-
dents can pretend to be; All whom the
urches in my three Kingdoms lately Go-
ned by Bishops, would equalize (I think)
t exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charitie,
re Christians differ (as many do in some
nts) there to widen the differences, and at
rto give all the Christian world (except
handfull of some Protestants) so great a
dill in point of Church-Government;
om, though you may convince of their
ours in some points of Doctrine; yet you
shall

hall never perſwade them, that to complet
heir Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily de-
ert, and wholly caſt off that Government,
which they, and all before them have ever
owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtoli-
cal, ſo far, that never Schiſmaticks nor Here-
ticks (except thoſe Arrians) have ſtrayed from
the Unitie and Conformitie of the Church in
that point; ever having Biſhops above Pres-
byters.

Beſides, the late generall approbation and
ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by
the Clergy, as well as the Laitie of theſe King-
domes, is a great confirmation of my Judg-
ment; and their inconſtancie is a great preju-
dice againſt their noveltie: I cannot in charity
ſo far doubt of their Learning or Integrity, as
if they underſtood not what heretofore they
did; or that they did conform contrary to their
Conſciences: So that their facility and levity is
never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point
of Church-government had any free & impar-
tiall Debate, contrary to their former Oaths
and Practice, againſt their obedience to the
Lawes in force, and againſt my Conſent, have
not onely quite cryed down the Government
by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged
the violent and moſt illegall ſtripping all the
Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of
their due Authority and Revenues, even to
th

the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiastical uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgments; of whose so sudden and so total change, little reason can be given, besides the *Scots* Armie coming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appear the greatest Enemies to, and Betrayers of their own Interest: For Presbytery is never so considerable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers wil find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the people, and of Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcasse they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs. I am firm to primitive Episcopacie, not to have it extirpated (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform what-evet the rust of Times, or negligence of Laws, or corruption of Manners have brought upon it, It being a grosse

vulgar

vulgar errour, to impute to, or revenge upo
the Function, the faults of Times or Perso
which seditious and popular principle a
practice all wise men abhor.

For these secular Additaments and Or
ments of Authority, Civil Honour and Est
which my Predecessours and Christian Prin
in all Countries have annexed to Bishops a
Church-men; I look upon them but as
rewards of their learning and piety, who are
to be in any degree of Church-Governmen
also enablements to works of Charitie a
Hospitality, meer strengthnings of their Aut
ritie in point of respect and observance; wh
in peacefull Times is hardly paid to any G
vernours by the measure of their Vertues,
much, as by that of their Estates; Pove
and meanness exposing them and their Aut
rity to the contempt of licentious mindes
manners, which persecuting Times much
strained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are n
worthy of those encouragements, and best
to use them: if at any time my judgment
men failed, my good intention made my
rour veniall: And some Bishops, I am sur
had, whose learning, gravitie, and pietie,
men of any worth or forehead can deny: B
of all men, I would have Church-men, e
cially the Governours, to be redeemed fr
th

vulgar neglect; (which beſides an innate
ciple of vitious oppoſition, which is in all
n againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or re-
ain them) will neceſſarily follow both the
esbyterian parity, which makes all Mini-
rs equall, and the Independent inferiority,
ich ſets their Paſtor below the People.
This for My judgment touching Epiſcopa-
, wherein (Gods knows) I doe not gratifie
y deſign or paſſion with the leaſt perverting
Truth.
And now I appeal to God above, and all
e Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for
bjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence,
d infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints
ſeek to force Me their KING and Sove-
ign, as ſome men have endevoured to doe,
gainſt all theſe grounds of my Judgment, to
nſent to their weak and divided novelties.
The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not
orethan I doe, That the Church ſhould be
verned, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true
aſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could
ver ſee any probable ſhew for any other
nies: who either content themſelves with
e examples of ſome Churches in their in-
ncy and ſolitude, when one Presbyter might
rve one Congregation, in a City or Coun-
ey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident
uths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over
thoſe

Thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as o-
ver the Churches they planted; and that Go-
vernment being neceſſary for the Church's
wel-being when multiplied and ſociated, mu
alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles t
others, after the example of that power an
Superiority they had above others: whic
could not end with their Perſons, ſince th
uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtill con-
tinue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive an
beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy,
and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition,
varice, revenge, and other diſorderly and di
loyal paſſions had not ſo blown up ſome men
minds againſt it, that what they want of Re
ſons or primitive Patterns, they ſupply wit
violence and oppreſſions; wherein ſome men
zeal for Biſhops Lands, Houſes and Revenue
hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy
which (however other men eſteem) to M
is no leſſe ſin then Sacriledge, or a robbery
God (the giver of all we have) of that portio
which devout minds have thankfully give
again to him, in giving it to his Church an
Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciou
accepts even a cup of cold-water, as a libati
offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to my particular Engag
ment above other men, by an Oath agreeab

to my judement, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government, and the rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfullneſſe of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could none, with Iudgement, breake that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the reaſon and religion of that, to which I am ſworn; How can any man that wiſheth not my damnation, perſwade me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins, of Sacriledge & Perjury? beſides the many perſonall Injuſtices I muſt doe to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as any, who ſeeke to deptive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Lively-hoods.

I have often wondred how men pretending tenderneſſe of Conſcience and Reformation, can at once tell me, that my Coronation Oath binds me to Conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all our Rationall and Religious freedom which every man ought to preſerve, & of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes: yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me.

That

That I must, and ought to dispense with, and ungodly break that part of my Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange, my lot should be valid in that part, which both my Self, and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very naturall and essentiall libertie of our Souls; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think my Self justly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and sacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State in Civil Dissentions, til I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in my Soul abhor, as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto, if I should shamefully and dishonorably give my consent; yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can my late condescending to the Sectaries in point of Church-Government, be rightly objected against me, as an inducement for

to consent to the like in my other Kingdoms: For it should be considered, That Episcopacie was not so rooted and setled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom, as in this; for what I think in my judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute my yeelding to them as my failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed, hath my yeelding to them been so happy and successfull, as to encourage me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to meekneſſe, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyaltie in those that pretended to other modes of Government, I might suspect my Judgment to be biassed, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontedneſſe of opinion: but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new ways of Government.

Nor can I find, that in any Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under my Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, or works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished

beyond

beyond what they have done in my Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might make me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it farre better to hold to primitive and uniforme Antiquity, then to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affaires should be managed neither with tyrannie, paritie nor popularitie; neither Bishops ejected, nor presbyters dispised, nor People oppressed,

And in this integrity both of my Judgement and Conscience, I hope God will preserve me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse and tenderneſſe, as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of the Church, so suffer me not by any violence, to be overborne against my Conscience.

Arise O Lord, maintain thine own Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath

bee

been retained in pureſt and primitive times, ſince the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular envie; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robb'd; others paſs by without regard, either to pitie or relieve.

As my power was from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING; *yet preſerve me in that libertie of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve from ſacrilegious Invaſions, thoſe temporall bleſſings, which thy Providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glorie.

Forgive their ſins and errours, who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wilde Boar, and ſubtil Foxes, to waſte and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Poſteritie, of being the firſt Chriſtian KING, *in this Kingdom, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; thoſe errours I would rather, with Conſtantine, cover with ſilence, and reform with meekneſſe,*

then

then expose their persons, and sacred Functions to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God to deliver both me and it from unreasonable men whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of the Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, scismes and disorders.

O then God of order, and of truth, in thy good time abate the malice, assuage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devises of thine, mine and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing prayses to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

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18. *Upon* Uxbridge *Treaty, and other Offers made by the* King

I Looke upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like beasts, to argue like men; whose strength should be more their understandings, then in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of my Reason, then my Sword.

so wholy resolved to yeild to the first, that thought neither my self, not others, should ed to use the second, if once we rightly unerstood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of me, prevent them with expresses of my desires, even importunities to Treat: It being an fice not only of humanity, rather to use Reathen Force; but also of Christianitie to *peace and ensue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to deny self with Armes, so I very willingly braced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being ry dubious, and of a Civill war unconfortble; the end hardly recompencing, and late pairing the mischiefe of the meane.

Nor did any successe I had ever enhaunce th me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired me as any man; though I was like to pay arer for it then any man: All that I sought reserve, was, mine Honour and my Conscice; the one I could not part with as a King, other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridg* gave the faireſt hopes an happy composure; had others applied emselves to it with the same moderation, as id, I am confident the war had then ended. was willing to condescend, as far as Rea, Honour, and Conscience, would give me

leave;

leave: nor were the remaining differences
essentiall to my people's happinesse, or of
consequence, as in the least kind to have
dred my Subjects either security or prospe
for they better enjoyed both many yeers, bef
ever those demands were made; some of wh
to deny, I think the greatest Justice to my S
and favour to my Subjects.

I see Jealousies are not so easily allayed,
they are raised: Some men are more alr
to retreat from violent Engagements, then
Engage: what is wanting in Equity, mus
made up in Pertinacie. Such as had litt
enjoy in Peace, or to lose in War, studie
render the very name of *Peace* odious
suspected.

In Church-affairs, where I had least libe
of prudence, having so many strict ties of C
science upon me, yet I was willing to con
scend so farr to the setling of them, as m
have given fair satisfaction to all men, wh
Faction, Covetousnes, or Superstition had
engaged, more then any true zeal, charity,
love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might s
to advance true piety; I onely sought to c
tinue what was necessary in point of O
Maintenance, and Authority to the Chur
Government; and what I am perswaded
have else-where set down my thoughts m

lly) is moſt agreeable to the true principles
ll Government, raiſed to its full ſtature
d perfection, as alſo to the primitive Apo-
olicall patterne, and the practice of the Uni-
erſall Church conform therunto.

From which wholly to recede, without any
obable reaſon urged or anſwered, only to
atisfie ſome mens wills and fantaſies (which
et agree not among themſelves in any point,
t that of extir pating Epiſcopacy, and fight-
g againſt Me) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoft-
eſſe, and infirmity of mind in Me, as will ra-
her part with Gods Truth, then mans Peace,
nd rather loſe the Churches honour, then
oſſe ſome mens factious humours.

God knows, and time will diſcover, who
ere moſt to blame for the un-ſucceſsfulneſſe
f that Treaty, and who muſt bear the guilt of
ter-calamities. I beleeve, I am very excuſa-
e both before God, and all unpaſſionate
en, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe tranſ-
ctions, wherein I endeavoured no leſſe the re-
uration of peace to my people, then the pre-
rvation of my own Crowns to my poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret
faire condeſcendings as arguments of fee-
neſſe, and glory moſt in an unflexible ſtiff-
ſſe, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and
inable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwayes

ask ſomething, which in Reaſon and H
nour muſt be denied, that they might ha
ſome colour to refuſe all that was in oth
things granted; ſetting Peace at as high
rate, as the worſt effects of Warr; endevo
ing firſt to make Me deſtroy My ſelf by d
honourable Conceſſions, that ſo they mi
have the leſs to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or an
other produced, to let the world ſee how lit
I would deny, or they grant, in order to t
publick Peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens furth
reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their own depr
ved temper, not to any Conceſſions or neg
tions of Mine: I have alwayes the content
what I offered, and they the regret and blam
for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſs ſet me not abo
a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Figh
Though I never thought it any ſign of t
valour, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather th
be drawne to produce our own Reaſons,
ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made me for the moſt part p
ſage the unſucceſsfulneſſe of any Treaty, w
ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treat: wh
implied ſome things were to be gained
the Sword, whoſe unſeaſonableneſs they w
loth to have fairly ſcanned, being more p

per to be acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking : and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation as was then wanting ; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it might be happily obtained ; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gaine by our prayers.

O thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy selfe: who wantest not Power, or Iustice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save : soften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve Peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I entreated for Peace? but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to War.

Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive both of our selves, and of others.

Cleer up our understandings to see thy Truth, both in reason, as Men ; and in Religion, as Christians : and incline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of war we have deserved, & bestow upon us that peace which only Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

19. *Upon the various events of this warre, victories, and defeats.*

THe various successes of this unhappy war have at least, afforded me variety of good meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try me with victory, by worsting my enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power who is the onely true Lord of Hosts, and when he pleases to represse the confidence of those who fought against mee with so great advantage for power and number.

From small beginnings on my part, hee let me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by my peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, bnt in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of my cause, and those that were with me want-

wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them and Mee: Nor were My Enemies lesse punished by that prosperity which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostilitie, which was begun by most riotous and un-Parliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personall and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of publick Engagements; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause: The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory. I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternall fate of their Souls.

Those with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their justification, the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring obedience to my just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without me, or against me to the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wilde Fundamentals of State (as they call them)

which actually overthrow the present fabrick both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being my Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Me and the Laws: first, by unsuppressing the Tumults, after by listed Forces: The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the Sword all their Demands against the present Laws and Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not find fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them: some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who died fighting against Me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title can with truth be applied onely to those who sincerely preferred Gods Truth and their duty in all these particulars before their lives and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantageous Designes by any Innovasion, were Religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and my Self, which lay upon their souls, both for obedience, and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but hee did through his mercy, crown many of them with eter-

eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; the destruction of their bodies being sanctified as a means to save their souls.

Their Wounds and temporal Ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall Health and Happinesse; while the evident approach of death, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humilitie, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present Engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that which their enemies brutish and disloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often, indeed, had the better against my side in the Field, but never, I believe at the Bar of **Gods** Tribunal, or their own **Consciences**; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both for Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflicts *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces which sometimes God gave me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man (that duly values his duty, his soul and eternity, beyond the enjoyment of this present life) then the most

triumphant glory, wherein their and mine Enemies [illegible]pervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, where-with their ſuſpicious, or now convicted Conſciences do purſue them, eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſe and mis-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the onely plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt Me, and the Laws eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Country doth conſiſt.

For, and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on my ſide might join true pietie with the ſenſe of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own ſouls, as they were to Me; That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any ſhews of truth of piety on the other ſide were ſufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their duty and Loyaltie to Me, which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any Victory which was witho[illegible]

My ſorrow, becauſe it was [illegible] Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, [illegible] them in their ſin: And yet I never [illegible] Defeat which made Me deſpair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch victories, as might ſerve to conquer, but only reſtore the Laws and Liberties of My people; which I ſaw were extremly oppreſſed, together with my rights, by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, my deſire was never to boaſt of my power nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I believed at laſt would make all things to work together for my good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the War, then to bring my Enemies to moderation, and my Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never prayed more for Victory over others, then over my ſelf. When the firſt was denied, the ſecond was granted me, which God ſaw beſt for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine juſtice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by puniſhing our ſins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better uſe ſo great a bleſſing.

My often Meſſages for Peace ſhewed, tha delighted not in Warre; as my former Conceſſions ſufficiently teſtified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparedneſs for it, how little *I* intended it.

The Conſcience of my Innocence forbad Me to fear a Warr; but the love of my Kingdoms commanded me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſty and gratitude, which became their loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yeelded leſſe, I had been oppoſed leſſe; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the War; I wiſh only a happy concluſion of ſo unhappy beginnings: The inevitable fate of our ſins was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the divine Juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to deſtroy one another: for, the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide, impair the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that

lea

leave our ſins unſubdued; flushing our pri[de] and animating to continue injuries.

Peace is not it ſelf deſirable, till repenta[nce] hath prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelv[es] and leſſe againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fight[ing] ing againſt one another; I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civil-Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern my people, and they may learn better to obey both God and me.

Nor do *I* deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to me, then all of us may be ſubject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach me the nobleſt victory over my ſelf and my enemies by patience; which was Chriſts conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.

Between both thy hands, the right ſometimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting, faſhion us to that frame of Piety thou likeſt beſt.

Forgive the pride that attends our proſperous, and the repinings which follow our diſaſtrous events; when going forth in our own ſtrength thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are ſomething, and when

We

are nothing; what thou mayest have the glory, when we are in a Victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evill from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compel me to inflict upon them; punishing my self in their punishmenes.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer: I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which only can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed: that I may not be only happy to see an end of those civill distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firm, and blessed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Scirre up all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation and such self-deniall, as becomes those, who consider that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sins of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War: so for the sins of War thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries: yet give me thy Se-

vant

ant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, enjoy that peace which the World can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingness, and griefe, hath been shed by me, in my just & necessary defence: but wash me with that precious blood, which hath been shed for me, by my great Peace-maker, Jesus Christ; Who will, I trust, redeem me shortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

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20. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied then that of due reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour me so far, as to make me an Instrument of so good a work, yet *I* should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliaments first intentions to reform what the indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see after the

Freedom of Parliament was by factious T
faults oppreſſed, how little regard was had
the good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Relig
ſetled; which ought to be the firſt rule
ſtandard of Reforming: with how much p
tiality and popular compliance the paſſi
and opinions of men have been gratified, to
detriment of the Publick, and the infinite ſca
dall of the reformed Religion?

What diſſolutions of all Order and Go
vernment in the Church? what novel
of Schiſm, and corrupt opinions? what
decencies and confuſions in ſacred Admi
ſtrations? what ſacrilegious Invaſions up
the Rights and Revenues of the Church? wh
contempt and oppreſſions of the Clerg
what injurious diminutions and perſecutin
of Me have followed (as ſhowers do wa
gleams) the talk of Reformation, all ſober m
are Witneſſes, and with my ſelf, ſad Spectato
hitherto.

The great miſcarriage (I think) is, that p
pular clamours and fury have been allowed
reputation of zeal, and the Publick ſenſe;
that the ſtudies to pleaſe ſome Parties hath
deed injured all.

Freedom, Moderation and Impartiality
ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Coun
and endeavours: what is acted by Factio
cannot but offend more then it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation right-chosen; the results of whose Councels, as they would have included the Votes of all, its like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applied (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church affairs, I dislike not farther, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not overawed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men cried up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they know to be of Apostolicall institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrary factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgment

ment and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, learning, and Religion against examples of all Ancient Churches; the Lawes force and my consent; which is never to gained, against so pregnant light as in th point shines on my understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture not so clear and punctuall in precepts, the the constant and Universall practice of th Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbytery, what with Reason or Discretion it c pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy but for that wholy to invade the Power, a by the *Sword* to arrogate, and quite abrog the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither just, as to episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery; nor yet any way convenient for th Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed m derate Counsels: and such (I beleeve) as wou have given more content, even to the most those Divines, who have been led on w much Gravity and formality, to carry on ther mens designes which no doubt many them by this time discover, though they d

not but ſmother their fruſtrations and diſcon-
tents.

The ſpecious and popular Titles of Chriſts Government, Throne, Scepter, and King-dom, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have at laſt) alſo the noiſe of a thorow-Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fined on new models, as their colours may be put to ill favoured Fi-gures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but Civill, not Reli-gious marks; defacing of Monuments, and inſcriptions of the dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in minde, to thank God for that greater light wherein they live: The leaving of Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities in the publick ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what hee may ſay Amen; nor what adventure he may make of running, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies which bold and ignorant men lift to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices; their ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſms, and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or cleer Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome four or five yeers conſultation had matured their

their thoughts touching their first principles of Religion.

All these and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) but all this amounts not to, nor can in justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow-Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompence or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs which they have purchased so dearly, and which have and will ever necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last make it their unanimous work to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Lawes, and long Customes, would not run into their new moudls, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil Warr; by the advan-

ntages of which they resolved, if [illegible] pre-
iled, to make my Self and all my S[illegible]
ll down and worship the Images [illegible]
ould form and set up. If there had been as
uch of Christs Spirit, for meekness, wis-
m and charitie in mens hearts, as there was
his name used in the pretensions to reform
to Christs Rule, it would certainly have
tained more of Gods blessing, and produ-
more of Christs Glory, the Churches good,
honour of Religion, and the unity of
ristians.

Publick Reformers had need first act in pri-
te, and practice that on their own hearts,
hich they purpose to try on others; for De-
mities within will soon betray the pretend-
of publick Reformations to such private de-
ns, as must needs hinder the publick good.

I am sure, the right Methods of Reforming
e Church, cannot subsist with that of per-
bing the Civil State; nor can Religion be
ly advanced by depressing Loyaltie, which
one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Orna-
nts of true Religion: for next to *Fear God,*
Honour the King.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdom may be
up without pulling down mine; nor will
men in impartiall times appear good
ristans, that approve not themselves good
jects.

Christs

Christs Government will confirm Mi
not overthrow it, since as I own Mine fr
Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and
Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christs G
vernment, or knew what it meant in t
hearts, they could never have been so ill
verned in their words and actions, both agai
Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evill means,
nor will evill beginnings ever bring forth
good conclusions: unlesse God by a miracle
Mercie create Light out of Darkneſſe, Ord
out of our Confusions, and peace out of
passions.

*Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us bea
for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer
not to be miserably deluded with Pharisai
Washings, in stead of Christian reformings.*

*Our greatest diformities are within; mak
the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of
own souls.*

*That we may in clearnesse of judgment,
uprightnesse of heart be means to reform wha
indeed amisse in Church and State.*

*Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and re
right spirits within us; that we may do all
thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy
sing.*

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the deformities, which some rash & cruel reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming. As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weakneſſe of their judgements; ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires, by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, coveteouſnes, or ſacriledge, may have any influence upon their counſels, whom thy providence injuſt and lawfull wayes ſhall entruſt with ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſary a work: That I and my people may be ſo bleſt with inward piety, as may beſt teach us how to uſe the bleſſings of outward peace.

Upon his Majeſties Letters taken and divulged.

THE taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of My ENEMIES could hardly have expected; ſo they know not how with honour or civility to uſe it: Nor do I thinke with wiſe and worthy minds any thing in them, that could tend ſo much to my reproach, as the odious

odious divulging of them did to the infa
of the Divulgers: The greateſt experime
of Vertue and Nobleneſſe being diſcove
in the greateſt advantages againſt an ene
and the greateſt obligations being tho
which are put upon us by them, from wh
we could leaſt have expected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the c
cealing of my Papers; the freedom and
creſie of which, commands a civility fro
all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is the
any thing more inhumane then to expoſe th
to publick view.

Yet ſince Providence will have it ſo, I
content ſo much of My heart (which I ſh
to approve to Gods omniſcience) ſhoul
diſcovered to the world without any of t
dreſſes or popular captations which ſo
men uſe in their Speeches and Expreſſe
wiſh My Subjects had a cleerer ſight into
moſt retired Thoughts.

Where they might diſcover, how they
divided between the love and care I ha
not more to preſerve my own Rights, the
procure their Peace and Happineſſe, and t
extreme grief to ſee them both deceiv'd
deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be grati
further by My Letters, than to ſee my c
ſtancy to my Wife, the Laws, and Relig

Bees will gather honey where the Spider ſuck
Poyſon.

That I endeavour to avoid the preſſures
of my Enemies, by all fair and juſt corre-
ndences; no man can blame, who loves
e, or the Common-wealth, ſince my Subjects
n hardly be happy if I be miſerable, or enjoy
heir Peace and Liberties while I am oppreſ-
ed.

The world may ſee how ſoon mens de-
ne, like *Abſoloms*, is by enormous actions
o widen differences, and exaſperate all ſides
ſuch diſtances, as may make all Reconcilia-
on deſperate.

Yet I thank God, I can not only with pati-
ce bear this, as other indignities, but with
arity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous
any injury my expreſſions can do them,
although the confidence of privacy may
mit of greater freedome in writing ſuch
ters, which may be liable to envious excep-
ons; yet the innocency of my chief purpoſes
nnot be ſo obtained, or miſ-interpreted by
em, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh
thing more then a happy compoſure of
ferences with Juſtice & Honor, nor more to
own, then My peoples content, who have
ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them:
o, by thoſe my Letters may be convinced
that

that I can both mind and act My own, My Kingdomes Affaires, ſo as become Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwa been very loth ſhould be beleeved of me, I were wholly confined to the Dictates Directions of others; whom they pleaſe brand with the names of Evil Counſellou

Its probable ſome men will now look u me as my own Counſellour, and having n elſe to quarrell with under that notion, th will hereafter confine their anger to my ſel Although I know they are very unwillin ſhould enjoy the liberty of my own thou or follow the light of my own Conſcie which they labour to bring into an abſo captivitie to themſelves; not allowing me think their Counſels to be other then g for me, which have ſo long maintained a againſt Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, w my Letters became their prize, had been nough to have ſatiated the moſt ambi thriſt of popular glory among the Vul with whom proſperity gaines the gre eſteem and applauſe; as adverſity expo to their greateſt ſleighting and diſ-reſp As if good fortune were alwayes the dow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not ner attend vitious and injurious actions, this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem influential to that cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no victories so effectuall to their designes as those, that most rout and waste my credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect, and loyalty to me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover mine, the Lawes, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my life, and my Kingdoms; first I must seem neither fit to live, nor worthy to Reign; By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall Justice can, and will overrule the most perverse wills and designes of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the word of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of my Letters, I have lost any more then so many papers; How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (when it ought to be pay'd to all men, and most be-

becomes such as pretend to Religion) beside that of respect and Honour, which they owe to their *King*, present, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the most respect and filiall tenderneſſe, which *Noah's* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous; who thought by this means to expose Me, to the highest reproach and contempt of my People, forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any reall uncomelineſſe, which, I thank God, they did not; as I can, and I beleeve hath made me more rooted in the hearts of many (as he did *Da-*

whom they thought, by publishing My pri-
te Letters, to have rendred Me a vile per-
n, not fit to be trusted or considered, under
y notion of Majesty.

But thou O Lord, whose wise and all
sposing providence, ordereth the greatest
ntingences of humane affairs; make me
see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in
he greatest advantages thou seemest to
ive the malice of my Enemies against me.
As thou didst blast the counsell of Achi-
phel, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his*
n ruine: so canst thou defeat their de-
gn, who intended by publishing my pri-
ate Letters, nothing else but to render me
dious and contemptible to My People.
I must first appeal to thy Omniscience,
ho canst witnesse my integrity, how unjust
d false those scandalous misconstructions
e which my enemies endeavour by those
apers of mine to represent to the world.
Make the evill they imagined, and dis-
easure they intended thereby against me,
to return on their own heads, that they
y bee ashamed, and covered with their
n confusion as with a Cloak.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all meanes to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that Crown of Christian patience which knowes how to serve thee in honour or dishonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse, and honour; thou art cloathed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdome, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour, and Majesty, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set Me; who art the diadem up of My head, and My salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy Glory which is both true and eternall.

22. *Vpon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough GOD hath given mee three Kingdomes, yet in these Hee hath now left me any place, where I may with safety and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himselfe is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God. He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my selfe, and my now distressed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his disposc.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence. Necessity is now my Counsellour, and cammands me to study my safety by a disguised withdrawing from my greatest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my Troubles. Happy God may make them a means honorably to compose them.

This my confidence of Them, may disarme and overcome them; my rendring my Person to Them, may engage their affections to Me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against, but for me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world see, they meane not what they doe, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Councellour and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve My Soul to God and My selfe; nor shall any necessities compell me, to desert mine Honour, or swerve from my Judgment.

What they sought to take by force, shall now bee given them, in such a way of unusual confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees fit not enough to desert Me of Military power to defend My selfe; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affaires, and necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have adhered to me, and apply to those that have Opposed Me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous, than that of Warre, both to stop effusion of bloud, and to close those wounds alre-

already made: and in it *I* am no leſſe ſolicitous for my Friends ſafety, than Mine own: chuſing to venture my ſelf upon further hazards rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt, better fairly to go over, than to conteſt in vain.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce me judgement, and fortifie my minde with Reaſon and Religion; that *I* may not ſeem to offer up my Souls liberty, or make my Conſcience the Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Arms, to have perſwaded my conſent to their new demands.

I thank God no ſucceſſe, darkens, or diſguiſes Truth to me; and *I* ſhall no leſſe conform my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a *King* ought to be among Loyall Subjects, *full of power*.

Reaſon is the Divineſt power, *I* ſhall never think my ſelf weakned while *I* may make uſe and free uſe of that. No Eclipſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denyed of outward ſtrength, his grace, hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions; not morofity to deny, what is fit to be granted, but not to grant any thing, which Reaſon and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think my ſelf leſſe then my ſe-

while I am able thus to preſerve the integrity of my conſcience, the onely Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraign of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I ſtill commend my ſelf.

As thou haſt preſerved me in the day of Battail, ſo thou canſt ſtill ſhew me thy ſtrength in my weakneſſe.

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hotteſt affliction, be alſo a pillar of cloud to overſhadow and protect me: be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt, that it is not any perverſneſſe of will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Perſon, Peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe that, by force, have ſought to wreſt them from me.

Suffer not my juſt reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience alwayes accompany me in my ſolitude and deſertions.

Suffer

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason and that fortresse of my Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of thy righteousnesse, and shew me thy salvation.

Make my wayes to please thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

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23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* King *to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may *I* justifie those *Scots* to all the World in this, that they have not deceived me; for *I* never trusted to them further, than to men: if *I* am sold by them *I* am onely sorry they should do it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essayes, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himself, who never failes them that trust in him: Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

God's providence commands me to return all to himself, that in him *I* may enjoy myself, which *I* lose, while *I* let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leasure enough to study the worlds vanity, and inconstancy.

Gods sees 'tis fit to deprive mee of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious, and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare my Soule in sin; nor gaine that of me, which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got my Person into their power; since my Soule is still my own; nor shall they ever gaine my Consent against my Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid mee to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not evill Counsellours with mee, but a good Conscience in mee, which hath been sought against; nor did they ever intend to bring mee to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish me; not more

King, and farre leſſe both man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men ſhall never be my ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle my ſoul; Better others betray me than my ſelf; and that the price of my liberty ſhould be my Conſcience; the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy my ſelf and Mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo dear to me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my People; which my Word may inſure more than any Sword can do; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The Laws will, by Gods bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects; if bury them not by my Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour, and injuſtice

which

which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or death muſt be the price of their redemption, *I* grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carries not with it his Souls, his Peoples, and Poſterities thraldom.

After times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew my Subjects, that *I* chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, than with them: happily *I* might redeem my ſelf to ſome ſhew of liberty, if *I* would conſent to enſlave them: *I* had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them: from whom *I* pray God deliver them, what ever becomes of me, whoſe ſolitude hath not left me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with me, whoſe preſence is better than life; and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedom.

Own me for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complain for want of that liberty which becomes a man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſſe me ſtill with Reaſon as a man: with Religion, as a Chriſtian: and with Conſtancy and Juſtice, as a King.

Though thou ſuffereſt me to be ſtript of all outward ornaments, yet preſerve me ever in the inward enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy ſelf: and

which

ich, cannot be taken from me against my will. Let no fire of affliction boyle over my passion ny impatience or sordid fears.

There be many say of me, there is no help for : do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance me, and I shall neither want safety, liberty, Majest .

Give me that measure of patience and Con- ncy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from n defeated, my Person restrained. O be not far from me lest my Enemies prevail too much inst me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorn to many : be thou my helper and defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they at hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord ll holpen and comforted me: establish me with free Spirit, that I may do and suffer thy will, hou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to m O Lord, for my Soul tru- th in thee : yea and in the shadow of thy wings ll I make my refuge untill these calamities be rpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long ta rying, O God. Though thou kill est me, yet will I trust thy mercy and my Saviours merit.

I know th t my Redeemer liveth: though thou dest me through the vayl and shadow of death, shall I fear none ill.

24. Upon

24. *Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance of his Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive me of all other civill comfort and secular attendants, *I* thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of my Chaplains, whom for their Function *I* reverence, and for their Fidelitie *I* have cause to love. By their learning, piety and prayers, *I* hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other injoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: by reaping by their Pious help a spirital harvest of grace amidst the thorns, and after the plowing of temporall crosses.

The truth is *I* never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined me unto adds the Wilderness to my temptations; For the company they obtrude upon me, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power in the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denyed

those

ſe things, where the evill policy of men
ids all juſt reſtitution, leſt they ſhould
eſſe any injurious uſurpation: But to deny
e the Ghoſtly comfort of my Chaplaines,
nes a greater rigour and barbarity, then
ver uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt pri-
ers, and greateſt Malefactors; whom though
Iuſtice of the Law deprive of worldly com-
ts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them
benefit of their Clergy, as not ayming at
e to deſtroy their Bodies, and to damne
ir Soules.

But my Agony muſt not be relieved with
preſence of any one good Angell; for
h I account a Learned, Godly, and di-
eet Divine: and ſuch I would have all mine
bee.

They that envie my being a King, are loath
ſhould be a Chriſtian, while they ſeek to de-
ve me of all things elſe, They are afraid I
ould ſave my Soule.

Other Senſe, Charity it ſelfe can hardly pick
t of thoſe many harſh Repulſes I received,
o that Requeſt ſo often made for the atten-
ce of ſome of my Chaplaines.

I have ſometime thought the Vnchriſtian-
eſſe of thoſe denials might ariſe from a diſ-
eaſure ſome men had to ſee me prefer my
n Divines before their Miniſters: whom,
ough I reſpect for that worth and piety

which

which may bee in them; yet *I* cannot th
them ſo proper for any preſent comforter
Phyſitians; Who have (ſome of them at le
had ſo great an influence in occaſioning th
calamities, and inflicting theſe wounds
on mee.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt
that devotionall complyance, and junctur
hearts, which *I* deſire to bear in thoſe h
Offices, to bee perſormed with me, and
me; ſince their judgements ſtanding at a
ſtance from me, or in jealouſie of me, or
oppoſition againſt me, their Spirits cannot
harmoniouſly accord with mine, or mine wi
theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy dut
as is meet, and moſt comfortable; whoſe go
den Rule, and bond of Perfection conſiſts
that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worſe then the diſea
and ſome comforters more miſerable th
miſery it ſelfe: when like *Iobs* friends, they ſe
not to fortifie ones minde with parience; b
perſwade a man by betraying his own Inn
cency, to deſpaire of Gods mercy; and by Ju
ſtifying their injuries, to ſtrengthen th
hands, and harden the hearts of inſolent E
nemies.

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-me
that have any thing in them beſeeming th
ſacred function, that I have hazarded m

ow

n Intereſts, chiefly upon Conſcience and
nſtancy to maintain their Rights; whom
more I looked upon as Orphans and un-
the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruell and ra-
ious Reformers; ſo I thought it my duty
more to appear as a Father, and Patron
them and the Church. Although I am
y unhandſomly requited by ſome of them;
may live to repent no leſſe for my ſuffe-
s, than their own ungrateſull errors, and
injurious contempt and meanneſſe, which
y have brought upon their Calling and Per-

pity all of them, I deſpiſe none; onely I
ight I might have leave to make choice of
e for my ſpeciall Attendants, who were
approved in my judgement, and moſt ſu-
e to my affection. For, I held it better to
undevout, and to hear no mens prayers,
to be forced or ſeem to comply with thoſe
ions, to which the heart cannot conſent,
the tongue ſay *Amen*, without contradi-
g a mans own underſtanding or belying his
ſoul.

n Devotions, I love neither profane bold-
e, nor pious non-ſenſe; but ſuch an humble
judicious gravity as ſhews the Speaker to
once conſiderate both of Gods Majeſty,
Churches honour, and his own Vile-
e; both knowing what things God allows
him

him to ask, and in what manner it becom
Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy for
self, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all pra
that sound either imperiously, or rudely
passionately; as either wanting humilit
God, or charity to men, or respect to
duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with
died and premeditated Sermons, so with
publique Forms of Prayer, as are fitted
Churches and every Christians daily and
mon necessities; because I am by them
assured, what I may joyn my heart unto,
I can be of any mans extemporary sufficie
which as I do not wholly exclude from
lique occasions, so I allow its just
and use in private and devout retirem
where neither the solemnity of the duty
the modest regard to others, do requ
great exactnesse as to the outward man
performance. Though the light of under
ing, and the fervency of affection, I ho
main and most necessary requisites both i
stant, and occasionall, solitary, and social
votions.

So that *I* must needs seem to all equall
with as much Reason to prefer the serv
my own Chaplains before that of their
sters, as *I* do the Liturgy before their Dire

In the one, I have been alwayes educated and
ciſed; In the other, I am not yet Cate-
ed, nor acquainted; And if I were, yet
uld I not by that, as by any certain rule and
on of devotion, be able to follow or finde
the indirect extravagancies of moſt of
ſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece
are compoſure and uſe; which is already
much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of
m, as the Common-Prayer ſometimes was
thoſe men; a great part of whoſe piety
g upon that populer pin of rayling againſt,
contemning the Government, and Litur-
of this Church. But, I had rather bee con-
ined to the woe of *Væ ſoli*, than to that of
vobis Hypocritis, by ſeeming to pray what
e not approve.

may be, I am eſteemed by My Denyers
cient of my ſelfe to diſcharge My duty to
D as a Prieſt, though not to Men as a
nce.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and Sa-
dotall, might well become the ſame Per-
, as anciently they were under one name, &
nited rights of primogeniture; Nor could
llow better preſidents, if I were able, than
ſe two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solo-*
; not more famous for their Scepters and
wns, than one was for devout Pſalmes
Prayers; the other for his divine Parables

and

and Preaching: whence the one merited an assumed the name of a Prophet, the other a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour where rightly placed, than any of those th Roman Emperours affected from the Natio they subdued: it being infinitely more glor our to convert Soules to Gods Church by th Word, than to conquer men to a subjection b the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdome an providence hath, for the most part alway distinguished the guifts and Offices of Kings, Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in th Jewish and Christian Churches: *I* am sorr to finde my selfe reduced to the necessity of be ing both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive me of King Power and Soveraignty; would no lesse en force me to live many Moneths without a Prayers, Sacraments and Sermons, unlesse become my own Chaplain.

As *I* owe the Clergy the protection of Christian *King*, so *I* desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers which *I* look upon as more prevalent then m own, or other mens; by how much the flow from minds more enlightned, and affe ctions lesse distracted, then those, which a encombred with secular affaires: besides, think a greater blessing and acceptablenesse a

rend

nds those duties which are rightly performed
proper to, and within the lymits of that
ing, to which God and the Church have
cially designed and consecrated some men:
d however as to that Spiritnall Govern-
nt, by which the devout Soule is subject to
rist, and through his merits daily offers it
and its services of GOD, every private be-
ver is a King and Priest, invested with the
our of a Royall Priesthood; yet as to Eccle-
licall order, and the outward polity of the
urch, I think confusion in Religion will as
inly follow every mans turning Priest or
acher, as it will in the State, where every
affects to rule as a King.

I was alwayes bred to more modest and I
nk more pious Principles: the consciouf-
se to my spirituall defects makes me more
ze and desire those pious assistances, which
ly and good Ministers, either Bishops or
esbyters, may afford me: especially in these
remities, to which God hath been pleased
suffer some of my Subjects to reduce Me,
as to leave them nothing more, but my life
take from me: and to leave me nothing to
re, which I thought might lesse provoke
r jealousie and offence to deny me, than
of having some meanes afforded mee for
soules comfort and support.

To which end I made coyce of men, as no

way

way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every eminent for their learning and piety, no than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine exceptions to be made againſt them, but this, that they may ſeem too able and too affected toward me and my ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I cou the beſt) in which they have forced me to ſ my ſelfe; though I muſt confeſſe I beare more griefe and impatience the want of Chaplaines, than of any other my Serva and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to being ſequeſtred from my Wife and Chil ſince from theſe indeed more of humane temporary affections, but from thoſe mo heavenly and eternall improvements ma expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforeed [neglected] want of ordinary meanes, G wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of gifts and Graces.

If his Spirit will teach me and help my i mities in prayer, reading and mediration [hope he will) I ſhall need no other, either C our or inſtructer.

To Thee therefore, O My God, doe I My now Solitary Prayers; what I want thers help, ſupply with the more immed aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can

eulig

ten my darkneſſe and quicken my dul-

hou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fou
f heavenly light and heat, at once clear
arm my heart, both by inſtructing of me and
eading for me; In thee is all fulneſſe; From
all ſufficiency; By thee is all acceptance.
art company enough, and comfort enough;
art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my
ff. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me;
e thou ever with me.
e ſingle wreſtlings of Iacob *prevailed with*
in that ſacred Duell, when he had none to ſe-
him but thy ſelf; who didſt aſſiſt him with
r to overcome thee, and by a welcome vio-
to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.
look on me thy Servant, in infinite merc
thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and
ted Devotions of others, whoſe fervency
t inflame the coldneſſe of my affections to-
thee; when we went to, or met in thy Houſe
the voice of joy and gladneſſe, worſhipping
in the unity of ſpirits, and with the bond of
ce.
forgive the neglect, and not improving of
happy opportunities.
is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pe-
in the wilderneſſe, as a Sparrow on the houſe
and as a coal ſcattered from all thoſe pi-
glowings and devout reflections, which might
have

best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy
of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, wh
the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of pra
might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruised r
nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, do not de
the weakness of my prayers, nor the smother
of my soul in this uncomfortable loneness
which I am constrained by some mens uncha
ble denialls of those helps, which I much want
no less desire.

O let the hardness of their hearts occasion
softnings of mine to thee, and for them. Let th
hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable
nials of my religious desires the more excit
prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deaf
incline thine ear to me; who art a God easie t
intreated; thine ear is not heavy that it can
nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear, nor
hand shortned, that it cannot help me thy des
Supplyant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of t
outward means which thou hast appointed i
Church, but they cannot debar me from the
munion of that inward grace, which thou
breathest into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me, t
wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The br
and contrite heart I know thou wilt not des
Thou, O Lord, canst at once make me thy ten

Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up my Meditations, fervent Prayers, and unfeigned Tears, my Self to thee; who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and accepteſt of me.

Thou, O Lord, didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handful of meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oil in the cruiſe fail the widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which as a widow, is now deſolate and forſaken: Let not thoſe ſaving truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholſom food for the refreſhing of my ſoul.

Which yet I had rather chuſe then to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall, rather tormenting, then teaching me; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to my deſtruction, (which are clear for their ſubjection, and my preſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayers) have ſought to devour the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God. O let not thoſe mens balms break my head, nor

their Cordials oppreſs my heart, I will evermo pray againſt their wickedneſs.

From the poyſon under their tongues, from t ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwo of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and those loyal and religious hearts, who deſire delight in the proſperity of my ſoul, and who ſ by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſs a ſolitude of thy ſervant, O my King and God.

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25. Penitential Meditations an Vows in the Kings ſolitude *Holmby.*

GIve ear to my words, O Lord, conſider Meditation, and hearken to the voyce of cry, my King and my God, for unto thee wil pray.

I ſaid in my haſte, I am caſt out of the ſigh thine eyes; nevertheleſs, thou heareſt the voyc my ſupplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou, Lord, ſhouldſt be extream to m what is done amiſs, who can abide it? But t is mercy with thee, that thou mayeſt be fear therefore ſhall ſinners flie unto thee.

I acknowledg my ſins before thee, which h the aggravation of my condition; the emine

of my place, adding weight to my offences. Forgive, I beseech thee, my personal, and my peoples sins; which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glorie, and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glorie and freedom of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects. Justlie, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained my person, yet enlarg my heart to thee, & thy grace towards me. I come far short of Davids pietie; yet since I may equal Davids afflictions, give me also the comforts, and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms have suffered seem little unto thee, though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged: O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy quickning kindnesses, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to

see thy goodnesse in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperitie deprive us the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery triall consume the drosse which long peace and plentie we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdr not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperit make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned aw but thy hand of Justice must be stretched out sti Let it, I beseech thee, be against me, and my F thers house; as for these sheep, what have th done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mi and thy Churches enemies.

But let their cruelties never exceed the me sure of my charitie.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, t I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glori my patience.

As thou givest me an heart to forgive them I beseech thee, do thou forgive what they have d against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given m heart to pray unto thee; so hear and accept Vow which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercie remember Me, my Kingdoms; In continuing the light of Gospel, and settling thy true Religion a us:

In restoring to us the benefits of the La
and the due execution of Justice:
In suppressing the many Schismes in Churc
and Factions in Sate:
If thou wilt restore me and mine to the An
cient rights and glory of my Predecessors:
If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people t
thy self in Pietie, to me in Loyaltie, and t
one another in Charitie:
If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdra
the fewell of these Civill Wars:
If thou wilt bless us with the freedom
Publike Counsels, and deliver the Honour
Parliaments from the insolency of the vulga
If thou wilt keep me from the great offenc
of enacting any thing against my Conscience
and especially for consenting to sacrilegious
rapines, and spoilings of thy Church:
If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glo
rifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and
State:
Then shall my soul praise thee, and Magni
fie thy name before my people.
Then shall thy glorie be dearer to me then my
Crown; and the advancement of true Religi
on both in puritie and power be my chiefest
care..
Then will I rule my People with justice, and
my Kingdoms with equity:
To thy more immediate hand shal I ever co

the rightfull succession, so the mercifull restauration of my Kingdoms, and the glorie of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with Peace safetie and honour, to my chiefest City and my Parliament:

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into my hand to punish and protect:

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charitie, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injurie done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions, for thy sake O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the waies of amnestie, and indempnitie; which may most fullie remove all feares, and burie all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be towards me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are towards my people.

Hear my praier O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my

prayer

prayer, or taken his mercy from me.

O my ſoul commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him and he ſhall bring it to paſs.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what am I that I ſhould charge thee ſoolliſhly?

Thou, ô Lord haſt given, and thou haſt taken, Bleſſed be thy name.

May my people and thy Church be happie if if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Upon the Armies ſurpriſall of the King at* Holmby, *and the enſuing diſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange ſcene of affaires, I am not much ſolicitous; ſome little practiſe will ſerve that man, who only ſeeks to repreſent a part of honeſty and honour.

This ſurprize of me tels the world, that a KING cannot be ſo low, but he is conſiderable, adding weight to that party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, seems excentrique and irregular; yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, then in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible it is for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of Babel should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build Jerusalem, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill Omen; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that Citie.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prison, but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Liberty of their KING; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, then the Pres-

Presbyterian rigour, who sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to lawe are become the greatest Exactours of other mens submission to their novel injunctions before they are stamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without my Consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming my Person into the Armies custody, without any commission, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a KING, must not be thought over-modest, or timerous to carry on any designe they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the City: which soon after acting over again that former part of Tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sin in the glasse of the present terrours and distractions.

No man is so blinde as not to see herein the hand of divine Justice; They that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastned by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin,

and sin to sin, till the later punish the former; such as were content to see Me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Armie, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some mens justice? The Members of both Houses who at first withdrew (as my Self was forced to do) from the rudeness of the Tumults, were counted Deserters, and outed of their places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forsakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Armie: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of Tumultuary Insolencies, and Betrayers of the Freedom and Honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present Advantages then their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good

the Authours and Abettors of them are [illegible] tie of prodigious insolencies; when as [illegible] they were counted as Friends, and neces[illegible] Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes ([illegible] the Mice and Rats are said to have done the Bi[illegible]shop in *Germanie*) them that thought to have escaped, and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I always wished [illegible] well to Parliament and Citie, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer any thing unworthy such great and considerable Bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely feared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities, as to despair of their Loyaltie to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never beleeved malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them, upon whom I look as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered

fathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſſe, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows, who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will finde that brethren in iniquitie are not far from becoming inſolent Enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one minde.

Nor is it poſſible to gain a fair period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie, then in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publike conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happie we are, to be ſubject to the known Laws, then to the various wils of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſts,

intereſts, demanding pay and indemnity think it neceſſary, in order to the publike peace, that they ſhould be ſatisfied, as far as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them then my Self: though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo far eſteem that valour and gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintain my Self, my Laws, and my Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion, as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe whom thy juſtice hath divided.

Deliver me from the ſtrivings of my People, and make Me to ſee how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight againſt me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another, to the continuance of my Kingdoms diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the ways of peace from which they have ſwerved: which conſiſts not in the divided wils of Parties, but in the point and line obſervation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may ſee thy conſtancy in the worlds varietie and changes.

Make

Make me even such as thou wouldst have Me, that I may at last enjoy that safetie and tranquillity which thou alone canst give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavie wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to add fewel to their luxurie, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to securitie, and their securitie exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eys to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glorie, and the publique Peace, lest their calamitie come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them that they cannot want Enemies who abonnd in sin; nor shall they be long undisarmed and un-destroyed, who with an high hand persisting to fight against Thee, and the cleer convictions of their own Consciences, fight more against themselves, then ever they did against Me.

Their sins exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me; yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider, hither what they have done, or I have suffered [chiefly at first, by them] as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer,

deemer, to plead their ignorance for their par-
don; and in my dying extremities to pray to
Thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they know
not what they did.

The tears they have denied me in my saddest
condition, give them grace to bestow upon them-
selves; Who the lesse they were for me, the more
cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their
Children, whom the fraud and faction of some,
not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie
me.

But thou, O Lord, canst and wilt (as thou didst
my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my
sufferings, which have more in them of thy
Mercie, then of mans Crueltie, or thy own
Justice.

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27. To

27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn, If theſe Papers with ſome others wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of my Conſcience, and my moſt impartiall thoughts touching the chief paſſages which have been moſt remarkable or diſputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſigned; they may be ſo far uſefull to you, as to ſtate your judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof prious is the beſt uſe can be made; and they may alſo give you ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kind of deceiving and leſſening the injury of my long reſtraint, when I find my leiſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of my ſelf, and uſefull to you; That neither You nor any other may hereafter meaſure my Cauſe by the Succeſſe, nor my judgment of things by my Misfortunes, which I count the greater by far, becauſe they have ſo far lighted upon you and ſome others whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as my ſelf, and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wiſdom You have above moſt Princes, that You have begun

and

and now ſpent ſome years of diſcretion, in the experience of troubles, and exerciſe of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees ſet in winter) then in the warmth, and ſerenity of times, or midſt thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty, which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour, or to be contented only with ſome leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, ſuch as tend to the publique good, for which Princes ſhould alwaies remember they are born, and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared by many afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdom, the other ſoftned by the unparaleld proſperity of Solomons Court, and ſo corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honor, and Kingdom, by thoſe flatteries, which are as unſeparable from proſperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in ſummer; whom adverſitie, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good then great. I hope God hath deſigned you to be both, having ſo early put you into that exerciſe of his Graces, and

Gift-

gifts beſtowed upon you, which may beſt weed out all vitious inclinations, and diſpoſe you to thoſe Princely endowments, and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign diſpoſer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleth down one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty you can attain to, is, to be ſubject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit, may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of civil Power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publique peace.

Pietie will make you proſperous; at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable; nor is he much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt.

To which Center of true happineſs, God, I truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleaſed to draw on me, and by which he hath [I hope] drawn me nearer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that Cup whereof

hav

ve liberally drank, which I look upon as ods Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſs hich it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you e already, wel-grounded and ſetled in your eligion: The beſt profeſſion of which, I have er eſteemed that of the church of England, which you have been educated; yet I would ve your own Judgment and Reaſon now al to that ſacred bond which education hath ritten, that it may be judiciouſly your owne eligion, and not other mens cuſtome or tra-ition, which you profeſs.

In this I charge you to perſevere, as com-ing neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and the primitive examples for Government, ith ſome little amendment, which I have o-erwhere expreſſed and often offered, though vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion ill not be more neceſſary for your ſoul's then our Kingdoms peace, when God ſhall bring ou to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devill of Re-ellion, doth commonly turn himſelf into an ngel of Reformation; and the old Serpent n pretend new Lights; when ſome mens onſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Fa-ion, they ſtop its mouth with the name and oiſe of Religion; when Pietie pleads for ace and patience, they cry out Zeal.

So

So that, unleſs in this point You be we
ſetled, you ſhall never want temptations to d
ſtroy you and yours, under pretenſions of r
forming matters of Religion; for that ſee
even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſ
cious beginning of their worſt deſigns.

Where, beſides the Noveltie which is takn
enough with the Vulgar, every one hath
affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outwa
Reformation of Religion, to be thought ze
lous, hoping to cover thoſe irreligious defo
mities, wherto they are conſcious, by a ſeveri
of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions

Take heed of abetting any Factions, of a
plying to any publick Diſcriminations in ma
ters of Religion, contrary to what is in yo
Judgement and the Church well ſetled: yo
partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſi
gaines you not ſo great advantages in ſo
mens hearts (who are prone to be of their kin
Religion) as it loſeth you in others, who thi
themſelves, and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſe
then perſecuted by you. Take ſuch a courſe
may either with calmneſs & charity quite r
move the ſeeming differences and offences,
impartiality, or ſo order affairs in point of po
er that you ſhal not need to fear or flatter a
faction, for if ever you ſtand in need of the
or muſt ſtand to their curteſie, you are undo
The Serpent will devour the Dove: you m
ne

er expect leſs of Loyaltie, Juſtice or huma-
, then from thoſe who engage into religi-
Rebellion: Their intereſt is always made
ds; under the colours of piety, ambitious
cies march, not onely with greateſt ſecuri-
u; applauſe, as to the Populacy; you may
from them *Jacob's* voice, but you ſhall feel
have *Eſau's* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſs conſiderable then the
sbyterian Faction in *England*, for many
rs; ſo complyant they were to publique
er: nor indeed was their Party great, either
Church or State, as to mens judgements:
as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Si-
gs (as ill humors fall to the diſaffected part,
ich cauſes inflammations) ſo did all, at firſt,
o affected any novelties, adhere to that ſide,
he moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of
rence (then) in point of Religion.

ll the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious
ants to Presbytery their great Maſter: till
e and military ſucceſs diſcovering to each
r peculiar advantages, invited them to part
es, and leaving the joynt ſtock of uniform
gion, pretended each to drive for their
y, the trade of profits and preferments, to
breaking and undoing not onely of the
rch and State, but even of Presbytery it
which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have
oſſed all.

Let

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to yo in matters which concern Religion, and Churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy forming and effectual ſuppreſſing Errors, Schiſms, which ſeem at firſt but as a han bredth, but by ſeditious Spirits as by ſtro winds are ſoon made to cover and darken whole Heaven.

When you have done juſtice to God, yo own ſoul and his Church, in the profeſſion preſervation both of truth and unitie in Re gion. The next main hinge on which yo proſperitie will depend, and move, is, That civil Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Laws of th Kingdoms, to which you are rightly heir, the moſt excellent rules you can govern by which by an admirable temperament give ve much to Subjects induſtry, libertie, and happ neſs; and yet reſerve enough to the Maj and Prerogative of any King, who owns people as Subjects, not as ſlaves; whoſe ſu jection, as it preſerves their propertie, peac and ſafetie; ſo it will never diminiſh yo Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; whi conſiſts in the enjoyment of the fruits of th induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Laws which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your Head with ſuch Crown, as ſhall by its heavineſs oppreſs whole body, the weakneſs of whoſe parts c

t return any thing of ſtrength, honor, or
ety, to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitati-
and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed, and exer-
ed in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor
the Laws, there being nothing worſe, then
l tyrannie.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of e-
bliſhed Religion and Laws, I may (without
nity) turn the reproach of my ſufferings, as
the worlds cenſure, into the honor of a
nde of Martyrdom, as to the teſtimony of
own Conſcience. The troublers of my
gdoms having nothing elſe to object againſt
but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws
bliſhed, before thoſe alterations they pro-
unded.

And ſo indeed I do, and ever ſhall, till I am
vinced by better Arguments, then what
herto have been chiefly uſed towards me,
mults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learn that leſſon, nor I hope
t will you, That it is ſafe for a King to gra-
any Faction with the perturbation of the
ws, in which is wrapt up the publike Inter-
and the good of the communitie.

How God will deal with me, as to the re-
val of theſe preſſures, and indignities, which
juſtice by the very unjuſt hands of ſome
my Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon

Me

me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicit
what wrong I suffer from men, while I ret
in my soul, what I believe is right befo
God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Sa
ty, that in Reason, Honor and Conscien
I can; reserving onely what I cannot con
unto, without an irreparable injury to my o
soul, the Church, and my people, and to y
also; as the next and undoubted Heir of
Kingdoms.

To which, if the divine Providence, to wh
no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his d
time after my decease bring you, as I hope
will: My Counsel and Charge to you,
That you seriously consider the former real
objected miscarriages, which might occasi
my troubles, that you may avoyd them.

Never repose so much upon any mans sing
counsel, fidelity, and discretion, in managi
affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matte
of Religion and Justice) as to create in yo
self, or others, a diffidence of your own jud
ment, which is likely to be always more co
stant and impartial to the interest of y
Crown and Kingdom then any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Facti
by the crossness, and asperity of some m
passions, humors, or private opinions,
ployed by you, grounded onely upon the d
ferenc

ferences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up solid piety, and those fundamental Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartial Favour and Justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devoure not all, or the best incouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equal eye and impartial hand, distribute Favours and Rewards to all as you find them for their real goodnesse much in abilities and fidilitie worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gain you the hearts of

the best and the most too: who though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer ways of vertue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions (for so I must needs call and count all those that act not in any conformity to the Laws established in Church and State;) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their common Enemy (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to Me) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designes shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation and Liberty. As the Wolf is not less cruell, so he wil be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises; My Charge and Counsell to You, is, That as you need no palliations for any Designes, (as other men) so that you study really to exceed [in true and constant demonstra-

tion

tions of goodneſs, piety, and vertue tow[ards] the people] even all thoſe men that make t[he] greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion, [to] you ſhall neither fear any detection (as they do who have but the face and mask of goodneſs) nor ſhall you fruſtrate the juſt expectations of your people; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed Factions ſhall by the Sun-ſhine of Gods Mercy, and the ſplendor of your Vertues, be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences, then thoſe men that intitle themſelves The Patrons and Vindicators of them, only to uſurp power over them: Let then no paſſion betray You to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe own ſin and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princely arts and clemency to heal the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion to ſo great a latitude, as may in-

ude all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be
ny way obnoxious to the Laws; and which
might ſerve to exclude al future jealouſies and
nſecurities.

I would have You alwaies propenſe to the
ſame way, when ever it ſhall be deſired and ac-
cepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of
State-policie and neceſſitie, but of Chriſtian
charitie and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to for-
give thoſe that have deprived Me of all; and I
thank God, I have a heart to do it, and joy as
much in this grace, which God hath given Me,
as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a
greater argument of Gods love to Me, then
any proſperitie can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all
ſides, who have done amiſs, have done ſo, not
out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-ap-
prehenſion of things.

None will be more loyal and faithful to Me
and You, then thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of
their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel
in their own Souls moſt vehement mo-
tives to repentance, and earneſt deſires to
make ſome reparations for their former de-
fects.

As Your qualitie ſets You beyond any Duel
with any Subject, ſo the Nobleneſs of Your
mind muſt raiſe You above the meditation
an

any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to Your Own Merits upon Your people, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them, and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, then in punishing a thousand.

This I write to You, not despairing of Gods Mercy, and My Subjects Affections towards You, both which, I hope You will study to deserve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Laws have assigned to Us, and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can devest Us of, then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own honor, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if You never see My face again, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment & obscurity, [which the perfecting some mens designs requires] wherin few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I do require and entreat You as Your Father, and Your KING

that you never ſuffer your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell you I have tried it, and after much ſearch, and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world, not only in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as Reformed, keeping the middle way between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meanneſs of fantaſtique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweetning, or poliſhing, which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand: if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late Troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or your own thoughts in this; That ſcarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late Warr againſt the Church, the Laws, and me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer,

Embracer or practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſs to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly Zeal abate your value and eſteem of true piety; both of them are to be known by their fruits; the ſweetneſs of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be deſpiſed, though the brambles and thorns ſhould pretend to bear figs and grapes thereby to rule over the trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any averſation or diſlike of Parliaments, which in their right conſtitution with freedom and honour will never injure or diminiſh your greatneſſe; but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyaltie and confidence betwen a Prince and his People.

Nor would the events of this black *Parliament* have been other then ſuch (howeve much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects of which will no doubt make all Parliaments after this, more cautious to preſerve that Freedom and Honour which

which belong to ſuch Aſſemblies when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoak of Vulgar encroachment] ſince the publick intereſt conſiſts in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happie for all, then in fair, grave, and honourable waies to contribute their Councels in Common, enacting all things by publick conſent, without Tyrannie or Tumults. We muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholeſome food.

And if neither I, nor you, be ever reſtored to our Rights, but God in his ſevereſt juſtice, will puniſh My Subjects with continuance in their ſin, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their wickedneſſe; I hope God will give Me and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true Principles of Piety, vertue, and honour, You ſhall never want a Kingdom.

A principal Point of Your honour will conſiſt in Your referring all reſpect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many waies deſerved well of Me, and chiefly in this, That [having been a means to bleſs

bleſs me with ſo many hopeful Childre
(all which, with their Mother, *I* recomme
to Your love and care) Shee hath been con-
tent with incomparable magnanimity and pa-
tience to ſuffer both for, and with Me, and
You.

My Prayer to God almightie is, (what ever
becomes of me, who am *I* thank God, wrapt
up and fortified in my own innocency, and
his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make
You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe
toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Re-
pairer by Your wiſdom, juſtice, piety, and va-
lour, of what the folly and wickedneſſe of
ſome men have ſo far ruined, as to leave no-
thing intire in Church or State, to the Crown,
the Nobility, the Clergie, or the Commons; ei-
ther as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Ho-
nour, Conſcience or lives.

When they have deſtroyed me, (for I know
not how far God may permit the malice and
crueltie of my Enemies to proceed, and ſuch
apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions
have already given me) as *I* doubt not but my
blood will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven;
ſo I beſeech God not to pour out his wrath
upon the generality of the people, who have
either deſerted me, or engaged againſt me,
through the artifice and hypocriſie of their
Leaders, whoſe inward horrour will be their

firſt Tormentor, nor will they eſcape exemplary judgments.

For thoſe that loved me, I pray God, they may have no miſs of me, when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects may be ſatisfied with the bleſſings of your preſence and vertues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects in their duty toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian KING, ſo I beleeve you will find them truly Zealous, to repay with intereſt that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me.

In ſumme, what good I intended, do you perform, when God ſhall give you power; much good I have offered, more I purpoſed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for ſo it now plainly appears, ſince my Reſtraint and cruell uſage, that they fought not for me, as was pretended) wil not long ſerve to hide ſome mens deformities.

Happy times I hope, attend you, wherein your Subjects [by their miſeries] will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their ſin and their infelicity.

I pray God blesse you and eſtabliſh your Kingdoms in righteouſneſs, your Soul in true Religion, and you honour in the love of God and your people.

And if God will have diſloyalty perfected by my deſtruction; let my Memory ever, with my Name, live in you; as of you Father, that loves you, and once a KING of three flouriſhing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities and an untimely death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerve the Rights of the Church, the Power of the Laws, the Honour of my Crown, the Priviledge of Parliaments, the Liberties of my People, and my own Conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to me then a thouſand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will reſtore me to my Rights. I cannot deſpair either of his mercy, or of my peoples love and pitie.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before you to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend You and all mine.

Farewell, till we meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

28. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His* Majesties *closer Imprisonment in* Carisbrook-Castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more then enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for My Death: for I know, there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence which gives me the space, but Mans cruelty that gives Me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortalitie, which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions, whose envie or enmity against Me, makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperitie made Me not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of mortalitie.

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain: Death being an eclipse, which

which oft happeneth as well in cleer as cloudy dayes.

But My now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in Me those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the special horrour of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for although My Death at present may justly be represented to Me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it (affaires being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bless God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoysonous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the Antidote of his Death against them, which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty of it, exceeded what ever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find so much, the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be wearie of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to die, if I did not consider, That it is the greatest

glory

glory of a Christians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piecemeales, and make us overlive our own fates: while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of deerest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporall so much, as in the love and good-will of my People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in my Subjects; and then all that content of life in me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O my Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnaminity

good Cauſe, as are the greateſt honour of our lives, and the beſt improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Chriſtian valor, it argues puſillanimity to deſire to dye out of wearineſs of life, and a want of that heroick greatneſs of Spirit which becoms a Chriſtian in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this body: and which are leſſned or enlarged as the Sun of our proſperity moves higher, or lower: whoſe total abſence is beſt recompenſed with the Dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampſons* Lyon, but they yeild much ſweetneſs to thoſe that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſs, while they may yet converſe with God.

That *I* muſt die as a man, is certain; that *I* may die a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, ſodain, barbarous death; in the ſtrength of my years, in the midſt of my Kingdoms; my Freinds and loving Subjects being helpleſs Spectators; my Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over me, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught me not to hope other-

otherwise as to mans crueltie; however, I de-
ſpair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know my life is the Object of the devils &
wicked mens malice, but yet under Gods ſole
cuſtodie and diſpoſal: whom I do not think to
flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to
die; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him
and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death,
in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them
out to me. I confeſs it is not eaſie for me to
contend with thoſe many horrours of Death,
wherewith God ſuffers me to be tempted;
which are equally horrid, either in the ſudden-
neſſe of a barbarous Aſſaſination; or in thoſe
greater formalities, whereby my Enemies [be-
ing more ſolemnly cruel] will, it may be,
ſeek to adde [as thoſe did who Crucified
Chriſt] the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty
of malice: That I may be deſtroyed, as with
greater pomp and artifice, ſo with leſs pity:
it will be but a neceſſary policie to make my
Death appear as an Act of Juſtice, done by ſub-
jects upon their Soveraign, who know that no
Law of God or Man inveſts them with any
power of Judicature without me, much leſſe a-
gainſt me: and who, being ſworn, and bound
by all that is ſacred before God and man, to
endeavour my preſervation, muſt pretend Ju-
ſtice to cover their perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have
his

Enemies to be Accuſers, Parties, and
dges; but moſt deſperate, when this is
ſed by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their
veraign; wherein thoſe, who have had
e cheifeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of con-
ving the publick Troubles, muſt by ſhed-
g my bloud, ſeem to waſh their own hands
that innocent bloud whereof they are now
oſt evidently guilty before God and Man;
d I beleeve in their own Conſciences too,
hile they carried on unreaſonable Demands,
ſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing
kes mean ſpirits more cowardly-cruel in
naging their uſurped power againſt their
wful Superiours then this, the *guilt of their*
juſt Uſurpation: notwithſtanding thoſe ſpe-
us & popular pretentions of Juſtice againſt
linquents applied only to diſguiſe at firſt
e monſtrouſneſſe of their deſigns, who de-
ired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and
fits of the Vineyard, till the heir whoſe right
s, be caſt out and ſlain.

With them My greateſt fault muſt be, that
ould not either deſtroy My Self with the
urch and State by My word, or not ſuffer
m to do it un-reſiſted by the Sword; whoſe
etous ambition no Conceſsions of Mine
ld ever yet either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that
gdom of brambles which ſome men ſeek

to

to erect (at once weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe either to God or man) is like to thrive till w tered with the Royal bloud of thoſe, who right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not bu my Innocencie will finde him both my Prote ctor and my Advocate, who is my only Judg whom I own as King of Kings, not onely fo the eminency of his Power and Majeſtie abov them; but alſo for that ſingular care and pro tection which he hath over them; who know them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men o Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long t proſper in their *Babel*, who build it wit the bones, and cement it with the bloud o their Kings.

I am confident they wil find Avengers of m death among themſelves: the injuries I hav ſuſtained from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed b them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as i oppoſing me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of m bloud, ſhall make them think no way better t expiate it, then by ſhedding theirs, who wi them moſt thirſted after mine.

The ſad confuſions following my deſtruc on, are already preſaged and confirmed

e by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince my trou-
les; in which God alone (who only could)
th many ways pleaded my cauſe; not ſuffe-
ng them to go unpuniſhed, whoſe confedera-
in ſin was their only ſecurity; who have
uſe to fear that God will both further di-
de and by mutuall vengeance, afterward de-
roy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of death is from the
ower and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd
p death in the Victory of his Reſurection,
nd the Glory of his Aſcention.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not on-
the honour to imitate his example in ſuffe-
ng for righteouſneſs ſake (though obſcur'd by
e fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice,)
t alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt re-
nge upon, and victory over my Deſtroyers:
y which, I thank God, I can both forgive
em and pray for them, that God would not
pute my blood to them, further then to
nvince them, what need they have of Chriſts
oud to waſh their ſouls from the guilt of
edding mine.

At preſent, the will of mine Enemies ſeems
be their only rule, their power the meaſure,
nd their Succeſſe the Exactor, of what they
eaſe to call Juſtice, while they flatter them-
ves with the fancy of their own ſafety by
y danger, and the ſecurity of their lives de-
ſignes

ſigns by My Death: forgetting, That as
greateſt temptations to ſin are wrapped up
ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengean
of God are then moſt accompliſhed, wh
men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked p
poſes.

I bleſs God, I Pray not ſo much, that
bitter Cup of violent Death may paſs fr
Me, as that of his wrath may paſs from al th
whoſe hands by deſerting Me, are ſprinkled
by Acting and Conſenting to My Death
embrued with My Bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and con
ded Mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of Dy
without any pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian toward
Enemies, and a King toward His Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more then I
content to loſe, when God ſees fit by th
hands to take it from Me; whoſe mercy I
leive, will more then infinitely recompe
what ever by mans injuſtice, he is pleaſed
deprive Me of.

The glory attending My Death, will far ſ
paſs all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envy
Crowns of this world, when My God h
mercifully Crowned and Conſummated
graces with Glory, and exchanged the ſh
dows of My earthly Kingdoms among m

the ſubſtance of that Heavenlie Kingdom
h himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the
rp and neceſſarie tyrannie of My Deſtroy-
will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of
annie againſt Me; I am perſwaded I am
pie in the judicious love of the ableſt and
of My Subjects, who do not only Pitie and
y for Me, but would be content even to die
h Me, or for Me.

Theſe know how to excuſe My failings, as a
n; and yet to retain and pay their dutie to
, as their King; there being no religious ne-
ſitie binding any Subjects by pretending to
niſh, infinitely to exceed the faults and er-
s of their Princes, eſpecially there, where
re then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been
de to the Publick; the enjoyment of which,
vate ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I beleeve, of ſofter tempers, and
advantaged by My ruine, do alreadie feel
rp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their
nſciences: where they cannot but ſee the
portions of their evil dealings againſt Me
the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon
m, who cannot hope long to enjoy their
n thumbs and toes, having under pretence
paring others nails bin ſo cruel as to cut off
ir cheifeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and
obſti-

obſtinate, may be like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice, as is not ordinary, the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill-gotten, and worſe uſed Authority: upon which ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſigns against Me, the Church and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which I truſt, is made with GOD; before whoſe exact Tribunall I ſhall not fear to appear, as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between me and my cauſeleſe Enemies, where I doubt not but his righteous Judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſs (rather like Sophiſters, then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) often permits many events which his revealed word (the only clear, ſafe, and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident, the juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearneſs of my Conſcience before God, and toward my people, will carry me as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their Succeſſes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion

o consider not, that many times those un-
takings of men are lifted up to heaven in the
sperity and applause of the world, whose
e is from hell, as to the injuriousness and
pression of the design. The prosperous winds
ich oft fil the sails of Pirats, doth not justifie
ir piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content
d quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in my
forced contestation for, and vindication
the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and
nour of Parliaments, the Rights of my
own, the just Liberty of my Subjects, and
e true Christian Religion in its Doctrine,
overnment, and due Encouragements, then
had, with the greatest advantages of suc-
s over-born them all; as some men have
w evidently done, whatever designes they
first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and
ing Subjects will contribute much to the
etning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not
t I shall more cheerfully take and drink, as
m Gods hand (if it must be so) then they
give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and
barously lifted up against Me.

And as to the last event, I may seem to
e more to my Enemies then my Friends;
ile those will put a period to the sins and
rows attending this miserable life, where-

with

with these desire, I might still contend.

I shall be more then Conquerour through Christ enabling me: for whom *I* have hither to suffered, as he is the Author of Truth Order, and Peace; for all which *I* have be forced to contend against Errour, Faction, confusion.

If *I* must suffer a violent death with my Saviour; it is but mortality crowned with martyrdom: where the debt of death, which I owe for sin to nature, shall be raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which *I* humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of my own sinne, as from God, and the effect of others sinnes, as men, both against God and me; yet as *I* hope my own sinnes are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so *I* desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophees of my charitie will be more glorious and durable over them, then their ill managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they have need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which, *I* pray God they may obtain: that my temporal Death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternal death upon them: for

look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable then the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other then the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me over-board; though it be very strange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appease the storms themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soul with my body; of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despair, they have onely discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell Restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then any way obstructed my accesse to the Throne of Heaven,

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings, who fit-
Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of
nal life, in whom is no shadow of death.
Thou, O God, art both the just Afflicter of
h upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us
, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee; then by living in our selves, to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall Graces and Comforts in my Soul as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evill, though I walk thorow the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me as a Man; make me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest me, yet thou hast encouraged me to trust in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better then life.

O be not far from me, for I know not how near a violent and cruel death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designes of those who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

oceedings doth not only violate, but likewise
casion the greateſt breach of their Publike
ith that (I beleeve) ever was heard of, with
hich I am far from charging the two houſes
r all the pretended crimes laid againſt me,
ar date long before this late Treaty at New-
ort, in which I having concluded as much as
me lay, and hopefully expecting the two
ouſes agreement thereunto, I was ſuddenly
rprized, and hurried from thence as a Priſ-
er, upon which accompt I am againſt my will
ought hither, where ſince I am come, I can-
ot but to my power defend the ancient Laws
ud Liberties of this Kingdom, together with
y own juſt Right; then for any thing I can
e the higher houſe is totally excluded.

And for the Houſe of Commons, it is too
ell known that the major part of them are
etained or deterr'd from ſitting, ſo as if I had
o other, this were ſufficient for me to proteſt
gainſt the lawfulneſſe of your pretended
Court. Beſides all this, the peace of the King-
om is not the leaſt in my thoughts, and what
opes of ſettlement is there ſo long as powe
aignes without rule of Law, changing th
whole frame of that government under whi
his Kingdom hath flouriſhed for many hu
red years, (nor will I ſay what will fall out
aſe this lawleſſe unjuſt proceeding againſt m
o go on) & beleeve it the Commons of Eng
Land

and will not thanke you for this change, [illegible] will remember how happy they have be[illegible] late years under the raign of Q. *Elizabe*[illegible] the King my Father and my self, untill the [illegible]ginning of these unhappy troubles, and wil ha[illegible] cause to doubt that they shall never be so hap[illegible] under any new. And by this time it will be t[illegible]sensibly evident, that the Armes I took up we[illegible] only to defend the fundamentall Laws of th[illegible] Kingdom, against those who have supposed m[illegible] power hath totally changed the ancient G[illegible]vernment.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reason why I cannot submit to your pretended aut[illegible]rity without violating the trust which I ha[illegible] from God, for the welfare and liberty of m[illegible] people; I expect from you either clear Re[illegible]sons to convince my Judgment, shewing m[illegible] that I am in an error (and then truly I will re[illegible]dily answer) or that you will withdraw yo[illegible] proceedings.

This I intended to speake in Westminste[illegible] Hall on Monday 22. January, but again[illegible] reason was hindered to shew my Reasons.

FINIS.

BIBLIOTHECA COLL. SS. TRIN. DUBLIN